# EGYPTIAN-TYPE DOCUMENTS

FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN LITTORAL OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA
BEFORE THE ROMAN CONQUEST

## II. STUDY OF THE MATERIAL

From Western Languedoc to Murcia

# ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

PUBLIÉES PAR

**M. J. VERMASEREN**

TOME SOIXANTE-CINQUIÈME

**JOSEP PADRÓ I PARCERISA**

## EGYPTIAN-TYPE DOCUMENTS

FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN LITTORAL OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA BEFORE THE ROMAN CONQUEST

II. STUDY OF THE MATERIAL

From Western Languedoc to Murcia

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1983

JOSEP PADRÓ I PARCERISA

# EGYPTIAN-TYPE DOCUMENTS

FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN LITTORAL OF THE
IBERIAN PENINSULA BEFORE THE ROMAN CONQUEST

## II. STUDY OF THE MATERIAL

From Western Languedoc to Murcia

With Plates XXIX-LXV

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1983

ISBN 90 04 06133 9
90 04 06855 4

*Copyright 1983 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands*

*All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche or any other means without written permission from the publisher*

PRINTED IN BELGIUM

# CONTENTS


Introduction . . . . . 1

I. Western Languedoc . . . . . 5
1. Ensérune. Nissan (Hérault) . . . . . 5
2. Mailhac (Aude) . . . . . 8
3. Montlaurès. Narbonne (Aude) . . . . . 12
4. L'Ilette. Peyriac-de-Mer (Aude) . . . . . 18

II. Catalonia . . . . . 23
5. Rhode. Roses (Gerona) . . . . . 23
6. Peralada (Gerona) . . . . . 26
7. Emporion, Empúries. Sant Martí d'Empúries, L'Escala (Gerona) . . . . . 28
8. Cypsela (?). Puig de Sant Andreu, Ullastret (Gerona) . . . 69
8a. Barcelona . . . . . 77
9. Can Canyís. Masies de Sant Miquel, Banyeres del Penedès (Tarragona) . . . . . 77
9a. Kese (?), Tarragona . . . . . 91
10. Mas de Mussols. La Palma, Tortosa (Tarragona) . . . . 91
10a. Tortosa (Tarragona) . . . . . 98
11. Jebut. Soses (Lérida) . . . . . 99
12. Tossal del Moro. Pinyeres, Batea (Tarragona) . . . . . 102

III. Valencia . . . . . 108
13. La Solivella. Alcalà de Xivert (Castellón) . . . . . 108
14. La Bastida de les Alcuses, Moixent (Valencia) . . . . . 111
15. Tossal de Manises. Alacant (Alicante) . . . . . 113
16. L'Albufereta. Alacant (Alicante) . . . . . 116
17. L'Alcúdia. Elx (Alicante) . . . . . 118
18. El Castellar Colorat. Crevillent (Alicante) . . . . . 121
19. El Molar. San Fulgencio (Alicante) . . . . . 122

IV. Murcia . . . . . 129
19a. Castillo de Monteagudo (Murcia) . . . . . 129
20. Los Villares. Hoya de Santa Ana, Chinchilla (Albacete) . . 129
21. El Cigarralejo. Mula (Murcia) . . . . . 130
22. El Cabecico del Tesoro. Verdolay (Murcia) . . . . . 133

Index . . . . . 139
List of Plates . . . . . 145
Plates XXIX-LXV

# INTRODUCTION

My study of the material has been compiled in the form of a catalogue, the pieces being classified by deposits. I have listed the deposits in geographical order from north to south, and grouped them in accordance with the historical regions to which they belong: I. Western Languedoc; II. Catalonia; III. Valencia; IV. Murcia; V. Andalusia (Mediterranean Littoral).

There is a chapter for each deposit, numbered with Arabic numerals. Thus Chapter 1 corresponds to Ensérune, Chapter 31 (the final one) to Gorham's Cave, Gibraltar. The heading of each chapter consists of the greatest possible number of names, to facilitate the identification and location of the deposit studied in it. Thus in the case of Empúries (Ampurias), the following are the names given: *Empórion*, Empúries, Sant Martí d'Empúries, L'Escala (Gerona).

*Empórion*: ancient name of the place, when known. In some cases it is followed by a mark of interrogation, when the ancient name is uncertain.

Empúries: Present name of the place, always as written in the local language, whether Catalan or Castilian. Exceptions are the Languedocian names, which I have had to give in their French spelling, because Languedocian toponymy has not yet been fixed and the very spelling of the Occitanian languages is extremely variable. Another exception is the Gibraltar cave designated in English as Gorham's Cave, since I do not know its Castilian name.

Sant Martí d'Empúries: inhabited locality or settlement near the deposit, when it is distinct from the municipal capital.

L'Escala: name of the municipality or in France the *Commune*.

(Gerona): Province, or in France *Département*.

Some chapters are given the number of the previous chapter plus the letter "a", for instance Chapter 10a. Such chapters are for certain unattached pieces the exact provenance of which is unknown, so that only a more or less extensive region can be indicated as their probable find-spot. I also indicate in this manner the places in which doubtful or fictitious finds have been reported, for which I refer the reader to the corresponding chapters of my Chronicle of Previous Research.

Every chapter begins with an account of the deposit under examination, with the data on its siting, archaeological characteristics together with some of its more typical finds, history of its exploration, dating, phases, cultures. This part of each chapter concludes with a list of the Egyptian-type objects found there. There follows a basic, though not exhaustive, bibliography of the deposit. This is given without abbreviations to make it easy for the reader to consult without being obliged to turn constantly to the general bibliography.

The material is studied piece by piece in the form of index cards, one card to a piece. Each piece is identified by four figures, separated into pairs by a full stop. The first two figures correspond to the deposit and also to the chapter, a 0 being prefixed for the chapters 1 to 9. The last two figures correspond to an enumeration from 01 to 99 of all the pieces in each deposit. Thus the identification numbers of any two Empúries pieces might be 07.03 and 07.24, those of any two pieces from the Cerro de San Cristóbal at Almuñécar 24.05 and 24.21. For greater clarity the title of each index-card consists of the name of the deposit (e.g. Puig de Sant Andreu, Cerro de San Cristóbal, without Ullastret or Almuñécar respectively), followed by the identification number of the piece, followed by its generic type. The pieces have been arranged within each deposit in accordance with the typology established in my Part I: Scarabs, Scaraboids, Amulets, Egyptian and Pseudoegyptian Trinkets, Divine Images, Vessels, Spoons, Intaglios, Panels, Egyptianizing Trinkets. On principle, whenever in the course of this book it is necessary to refer to a given piece, it will be indicated by its deposit and identification number, so that it can be immediately located.

The index card runs through a series of questions, the same for every piece, through which the analytical study of each one singly can be carried out. The questions are as follows:

Material and colour
Measurements
Place of Keeping (and inventory number if it has one)
Circumstances of Discovery
Bibliography (abbreviated)
Date
Description
Parallels
Conclusion

As we see, the study of each piece covers all its aspects, permitting us to draw individual conclusions about each one and also to draw group conclusions about all the pieces in one and the same deposit. Thus by the end of the book the sole remaining conclusions to be drawn will be those of an absolutely general kind, without the need of repeating everything which has already been said piece by piece.

# I. WESTERN LANGUEDOC

## 1. ENSÉRUNE. NISSAN (HÉRAULT)

The *Oppidum* of Ensérune is situated at the top of a height which dominates the Languedocian Plain between the lower reaches of the Rivers Orb and Aude, about 9 km. south-east of the modern Béziers and less than 3 km. to the north of the small town of Nissan. The *Oppidum* is something less than 15 km. in a straight line from the present coast-line and the area is today still strewn with marshes, such as the Vendres, Capestang, and Montady Marshes. This last, at the very foot of Ensérune, was already dried up in the Middle Ages. The strategic situation of Ensérune would be hard to improve, all the more so for its being impossible to avoid. Both the *route nationale* and the railway pass its foot today, and in antiquity first the *Via Heraclea* and later the *Via Domitiana*, which connected Italy with Spain, must have come this way.

The name by which the town is now known is derived, as Jannoray has already shown, from the Latin form *Anseduna*.[1] Its present spelling *Ensérune* must be regarded as a French corruption of the Occitanian name, which I think can be restored, with due regard to Languedocian phonetics, as *Enserona*, or even *Anserona*.[2] I am thus enabled to draw attention to a probable kinship between this place-name and that of *Anseresa*, corresponding to a pre-Roman *oppidum* near Solsona, excavated by Serra Vilaró.

The Ensérune site first attracted public notice in the middle of the 19th century, when some finds were made there, so that it was referred to on more than one occasion. In 1909 Rouzaud, known already for his explorations at Montlaurès, in a reconnaissance of Ensérune discovered the first cremations to the west of the *Oppidum*. His findings came in useful at the beginning of 1915 when systematic excavation of the deposits was begun by an amateur, F. Mouret, who began with the necropolis indicated by Rouzaud. The work lasted till 1924 and 335 interments were found. In 1922 the *Direction des Beaux Arts* began to acquire the site, and in

---

[1] Jannoray, *Ensérune*, p. 42.

[2] In Languedocian the name of the place is pronounced "Enseruno" or "Anseruno", which is why the spelling I have proposed seems preferable to the form *Enseruna* which has been suggested to me. The termination I propose has the advantage of falling into line with the numerous place-names ending in *-ona* so frequent on both sides of the Pyrenees.

1929 the Abbé Sigal launched a systematic exploration of the habitation area which lasted till 1945. On the Abbé's death in 1945, the work was continued by Jannoray, Gallet de Santerre, and Giry. The exploration of the Necropolis was extended, stratigraphic *sondages* were made, a search was carried out for the line of the town wall, and so on.[3]

In the Ensérune deposit, three successive occupation phases have been distinguished. The most ancient corresponds to a huddle of huts, with objects which can be dated to the first half of the 6th century, and some hand-made pottery possibly to the end of the 7th. The second occupation level already corresponds to a preconceived city plan. The transformation of the area was brought about during the last quarter of the 5th century and remained effective throughout the 4th and the first three quarters of the 3rd. The last phase of Ensérune was from the end of the 3rd century to the year 30 A.D. It was a direct continuation of the previous phase, with similar urban ideas, but on a notably grander scale. These last two phases were separated by a moment of destruction, which can be assigned approximately to the year 225.[4]

In the Ensérune excavations one or perhaps two scarabs have been found.[5]

*Bibliography*[6]

Jean Jannoray, *Ensérune. Contribution à l'Étude des Civilisations Préromaines de la Gaule Méridionale*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 181e, Paris, 1955.

Yves Solier, *Les fouilles de Peyriac-de-Mer (Aude)*, in *Bulletin de la Société d'Études Scientifiques de l'Aude*, LXI, Limoux, 1960, pp. 71 ff.

Hélène Guiraud, *Pierres gravées de la collection Charra*, in *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne*, 35, Narbonne, 1973, pp. 175 ff.

---

[3] Jannoray, *Ensérune*, pp. 42 ff.

[4] Jannoray, *Ensérune*, pp. 267 ff.

[5] We have two different records from distinct sources, which may however refer to the same piece. The first rests on oral testimony from M. Claustres to M. Solier, who has confirmed it to me, the second on information gathered by Mlle. Guiraud from M. Gondard, which she has also passed on to us. In our present state of knowledge it is impossible to clear up the question whether these records both refer to the same scarab or to two different ones. In view of these doubts I have chosen to separate the data we have on the hypothesis that there may be two pieces concerned, my Nos. 01.01 and 01.02, but I must insist that this is not proved.

[6] The bibliography of Ensérune is most extensive, but the publication of Jannoray's monograph in 1955 excuses me from quoting earlier works.

**Ensérune, No. 01.01** Scarab

*Material and Colour*: Unknown.
*Measurements*: Unknown.
*Place of Keeping*: Lost.
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Appeared in the course of the first excavations of this archaeological site, undertaken by Sigal with Georges Claustres as his collaborator. M. Claustres saw the scarab, which was found at that time and subsequently disappeared. Years later he gave the particulars to M. Yves Solier, who up till 1973 was the only author to record the existence of the piece.[7] M. Solier in a recent conversation has confirmed to me that these particulars are derived solely from Claustres' oral testimony. In 1973, Guiraud reported the existence of an agate scarab in the Gondard Collection, though I cannot tell whether it is the same as that referred to by Solier.

*Bibliography*: Solier, *BSESA*, LXI, p. 78.

*Date*: Without a description of this scarab, I cannot be sure of the date of its manufacture, any more than I can tell, without knowing the exact place and circumstances of its discovery, the date of its archaeological context.
*Description*: —.
*Parallels*: In the complete absence of positive data about this Ensérune scarab, no parallels can be cited.[8]
*Conclusion*: We do not know if this scarab was Egyptian or Pseudo-egyptian. In either case it is evidence of Punic, or possibly Etruscan, trade at Ensérune, though at a period which cannot, at least from this piece, be determined.

---

[7] Solier, *BSESA*, LXI, p. 78.

[8] I should here like, however, to mention the existence in Languedoc of another scarab, coming from Murviel-les-Montpellier, that I have not included in my catalogue because it is, without any possibility of doubt, a Roman product: Demanguel, *Monspeliensia*, II, 1, pp. 1 ff. Cf. Solier, *BSESA*, LXI, p. 78 and n. 11; Benoit, *Recherches*, p. 68 and n. 25. This scarab is human-headed, about 10 cm. long, with a cartouche of Rameses III, but some of its hieroglyphic signs are deformed in a very characteristic fashion which betrays its later manufacture.

**Ensérune, No. 01.02** Scarab (Pl. XXXI)

*Material and Colour*: Agate.[9]

*Measurements*: Unknown.

*Place of Keeping*: Not exactly known. The piece belonged to M. Gondard, former president of the *Société Archéologique de Béziers*, now dead. According to Mlle. H. Guiraud, who saw the piece about 1970, the scarab was deposited with the above-named society but at present nobody has been able to give us any account of it. Provisionally therefore it must be regarded as lost.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Unknown. It is established only that the scarab came from Ensérune or from near that deposit.

*Bibliography*: Guiraud, *BCAN*, 35, p. 185, n. 14.

*Date*: Guiraud dates this scarab to the 4th-3rd centuries.

*Description*: The dorsal scheme belongs to Type IVb, with the clypeus well fashioned, the thorax and elytra separated by two parallel lines, and marked out along its sides by a series of lines also parallel. On the reverse apparently we have the design of a quadruped difficult to make out in detail, executed with a globular technique. It seems to be winged and might in that case be a Pegasus.

*Parallels*: Impossible to indicate without the possibility of making out the details of the design on the reverse or identifying its motif with any assurance.

*Conclusion*: Pseudoegyptian piece of Etruscan manufacture.

## 2. MAILHAC (AUDE)

The settlement or *Oppidum* of Cayla lies close to the village of Mailhac, a little to its north. Between this settlement and the Grand-Bassin I Necropolis, which occupies the *parcelles*, or smallholdings, of La Redorte, L'Entari, and Le Grand-Bassin, stretches the Grand-Bassin II Necropolis. Both are on the plain, south of Cayla, between it and the little River St. Jean-de-Cas.

The first tombs of the Grand-Bassin II Necropolis were excavated in 1949. Later, neighbouring smallholdings were explored and the work was

[9] All the information we have of this piece is due to Mlle. H. Guiraud, who has also provided me with two old photographs, the only pictorial matter we now have, for which I here tender my thanks. My attempts to locate the scarab, since the death of its owner M. Gondard, were completely unsuccessful.

brought to its completion by the brother and sister team Odette and Jean Taffanel. This Necropolis is contemporary with the Level II of the settlement of Cayla, the material in both being absolutely of the same kind. Settlement and Necropolis are dated by M. Louis and by the Taffanels to the 6th century and the first quarter of the 5th.[1]

The Necropolis was always for cremations and is characterized by the abundance of wheel-made imported pottery, giving a solid basis for the dating of this phase of Mailhac, as also of the earlier phases. Moreover it has been observed that there was an impoverishment in the grave-goods of this Necropolis together with a great increase in the quantity of weapons compared with the earlier Grand-Bassin I Necropolis. Among metallic objects the abundance of iron is noticeable. Apart from the weapons, it may be mentioned that the belt buckles, of bronze, may have, indifferently, one, two, or three hooks. The fibulas are of cross-bow type and some fragments have been found with the bow rounded. Among the wheel-made pottery are mentioned fragments of "black bucchero", grey "Phocaean" ware, and a pink ware painted with ochre which according to Louis and Taffanel is of a type peculiar to Cayla II. Of special note among these are the urns with lug handles such as that found in Tomb 14 of Grand-Bassin II.[2]

The assemblage of settlements and villages of Mailhac is of capital importance for the whole area of the Ibero-Mediterranean littoral, in view of the datable elements it has yielded and its undeniable kinship, at least as far back as the 6th century, with the more southerly deposits in the area. The assemblage, situated between the valleys of the Orb and the Aude, at about the half-way mark of the littoral, in the "hinterland" of the Languedocian plain, is interpreted as a succession of native establishments, ascending as it were in stages from the end of the Bronze Age to the Roman period, with a growing foreign colonial influence reflected in the progressive increase in imported articles. Among these imports those of West Phoenician, Greek, and Etruscan origin are distinctive.

In the Mailhac excavations, in the Grand-Bassin II Necropolis, several fragments have been found of a single Egyptian vessel.

*Bibliography*

Maurice Louis et Odette et Jean Taffanel, *Le Premier Age du Fer Languedocien*. 1re partie, *Les Habitats*. 2me partie, *Les Nécropoles à Incineration*. 3me partie, *Les Tumulus. Conclusions*, Collection de Monographies Préhistoriques et Archéologiques, III, Bordighera-Montpellier, 1955, 1958, and 1960.

[1] Louis et Taffanel, *Premier Age du Fer*, 3, pp. 357 ff.

[2] Louis et Taffanel, *Premier Age du Fer*, 2, pp. 59 ff.

Fernand Benoit, *Recherches sur l'hellénisation du Midi de la Gaule*, Publications des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres, Nouvelle Série, No. 43, Aix-en-Provence, 1965.
O. et J. Taffanel, *Trois bronzes de type étrusque à Mailhac (Aude)*, in *Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise*, III, Paris, 1970, pp. 21 ff.

**Mailhac, No. 02.01** Vessel (Pls XXIX-XXX)

*Material and Colour*: Green glazed composition.

*Measurements*: According to the Taffanels' reconstruction, must originally have measured 5 cm. in largest diameter. The spherical body of the vessel must have been some 4 cm. high.

*Place of Keeping*: Mailhac Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 30.128).

*Circumstances of Discovery*: The piece formed part of the furniture of Tomb 56 in the Grand-Bassin II Necropolis. The tomb was excavated in 1955 after having been discovered in *Parcelle* No. 3, Section A, by deep digging of the soil in the course of cultivation. In excavation all the contents were removed, but the structure of tombs of this type had already become well known since excavations of the Necropolis began in 1949.[3] Among the debris removed there were none of any urn, so that the ashes of the cremated person must have been laid directly in the earth, in the little *loculus*, or pocket, which was cut at the bottom of the graves in this Necropolis. The ashes of the deceased were accompanied by the following grave furniture which was destroyed and burnt in the incineration:

1. A fragment of the rim of an amphora of pink ware containing white mica as a degreaser.
2. Five fragments of a bucchero cantharus, discoloured by fire, the pottery being still black inside, though the outer surface has turned red in the oxydizing flames of the pyre.
3. Four fragments forming part of the vessel under discussion.
4. Some fragments of very thin iron plaquettes, some very little oxidized, with holes along the edges in places still trimmed.
5. Numerous half-melted fragments of bronze, undoubtedly belonging to an *oenochoe*, and perhaps also to a *simpulum*, recognizable fragments being those of a handle, oval in section, and a highly stylized little lion's head which must have terminated one of the arms of the *oenochoe*. The furniture of this tomb was inaccurately reported by Benoit in 1965,[4]

[3] Louis et Taffanel, *Premier Age du Fer*, 2, pp. 59 ff.
[4] Benoit, *Recherches*, p. 67.

the published description by its excavators, the Taffanels, not appearing till 1970.[5] My description is taken from the latter work.

*Bibliography*: Benoit, *Recherches*, p. 67. Taffanel, *RANarb*, III, pp. 25 ff., figs 6-3, 7-3.

*Date*: The Taffanels date the *oenochoe* to the end of the 6th century, since it corresponds to the classification "Etruscan *oenochoae* with palmettes of anchor form". The dating agrees with that of the Naucratis aryballos. Some pieces of this type recovered in Egypt show the cartouche of Amasis and may be "broadly" dated to the second half of the 6th century. It agrees generally also with the chronology of Grand-Bassin II which can be rigorously aligned with that of the settlement of Cayla II covering the whole 6th century and reaching the beginnings of the 5th.[6] The bucchero *cantharus* strictly speaking poses the only problem, since it seems that it must be dated at latest to the beginning of the 6th century. I agree, however, with the Taffanels' remark that a tomb must be dated by its most recent material, an incontrovertible maxim for archaeologists, especially as we do not know in this case in what state the Etruscan cantharus was when it was deposited in the tomb. In the earliest phases of Mailhac numerous vases have been found which were already broken when they were put in the tombs,[7] and Maluquer considers another Naucratis aryballos found at La Bobadilla as having been already broken in antiquity.[8]

*Description*: This consists of four fragments which may have been stuck together of a Naucratis aryballos, decorated with incised cross-hatching. The four fragments are discoloured by fire.

*Parallels*: I shall be discussing vessels of this type more fully when I come to the aryballos and hedgehog of Empúries. I here confine myself to pointing out that at least one Naucratis aryballos has been found in Ibiza.[9] In the Peninsula they are rather scarce, but widely distributed. In addition to the Empúries examples (Nos. 07.24-07.28) in this catalogue, mention may be made of those from El Molar (No. 19.04), from Los Villares (Hoya de Santa Ana, No. 20.01), and from La Bobadilla.[10]

*Conclusion*: Although the aryballoi of glazed composition like this one continue to be described as "Naucratite", there are now serious doubts

---

[5] Taffanel, *RANarb.*, III, pp. 25 ff.

[6] Taffanel, *RANarb.*, III, p. 28 n. 2.

[7] Taffanel, *RANarb.*, III, p. 28.

[8] Maluquer, *Memoria 1972*, p. 45.

[9] García y Bellido, *Hisp. Graeca, Láminas*, Pl. LXVI.

[10] Maluquer, *Memoria 1972*, pp. 45 ff. Maluquer, Picazo y Rincón, *La Bobadilla*, pp. 16 ff., Pl. IV.

among students about their place of manufacture, as a result of von Bissing's work.[11] He thinks they may have been manufactured in Rhodes, in view of the abundance of finds on that island, and that they must consequently be considered of Greek origin. This would also explain why despite their exotic technique these vessels assumed a Greek form. Against this opinion, however, there is that of Vercoutter, who thinks that neither Phoenicians nor Greeks knew the technique of making composition or glazed ware, even as late as the 4th century, let alone in the 6th.[12] In his view it was the foreign settlers in the Nile Delta who induced the Egyptian craftsmen to manufacture objects strange to Egyptian art but manufactured with a typically and specifically Egyptian technique.[13] These semi-exotic objects appear in Egypt itself, some of them even with the cartouche of Amasis (570-526),[14] and it is not logical to suppose that the Egyptians of the 6th century would have bought these aryballoi and those in the form of a hedgehog, manufactured with an Egyptian technique, at Rhodes. It is much more logical to suppose that they manufactured them themselves. Moreover the resemblance of all these vessels to one another, distributed though they are over the entire Mediterranean area, is such that a common origin must be postulated for all of them, and that means an Egyptian origin. It may be pointed out moreover that these vessels are not the only exotic pieces manufactured by Egyptian craftsmen using an Egyptian technique. Besides various amulets, I should like to record here a curious scarab found in Ibiza, of typically Egyptian technique and decoration, on which are inscribed different signs for Tanit, among them the "life" sign, "*onkh*". There can be no doubt that this scarab, which was shown to me by Señor Ll. Baqués, was manufactured in Egypt for a Phoenician clientele. Thus the Mailhac aryballos is a piece of Egyptian manufacture.[15]

## 3. MONTLAURÈS. NARBONNE (AUDE)

Montlaurès is a *pech* (hill) situated at a small distance from Narbonne and rather further inland. The present *pech* was not big enough in antiquity

[11] Bissing, *Zeit und Herkunft*, pp. 16 ff. and especially p. 26. Cf. Maluquer, *Memoria 1972*, p. 47. On the other hand, this same author in 1937 was still inclined to favour the idea that these aryballoi were of genuine Egyptian manufacture: Bissing, *St. Etr.*, XI, pp. 415 f. and especially n. 5.

[12] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 277 f.

[13] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 277 f.

[14] Bissing, *CGC., Fayencegefässe*, pp. 41 f., Nos. 3735 and 3736. Cf. Bissing, *St. Etr.*, XI, p. 416, n. 5. These aryballoi have a flat base and the handle springing from a palmette, that is to say, they are of exactly the same type as the Ibiza aryballos already mentioned.

[15] Baqués, *Ampurias*, 36 (in the press).

to contain the whole city which spilled out over its sloping sides and adjoining plains, ringed around by a girdle of lakes and marshes and the River Aude which passed much closer to Montlaurès than it does today.

From the 18th century onward and during the whole of the 19th there was a succession of finds of ancient material in the Montlaurès area and its immediate vicinity, but until 1899 no start was made with any continuous or minimally scientific work on the deposit. In that year Rouzaud began his systematic reconnaissances, which from 1906 onwards were transformed into a series of *sondages*, once the importance of the locality was revealed and recognized, with its identification as the capital of the Elysics and the direct forerunner of what is today Narbonne. After Rouzaud's death in 1935 work was continued in the area by a number of different archaeologists, first Claustres between 1936 and 1940, then Héléna in 1939 and again in 1960, when he was accompanied by Giry. After Héléna's death Giry continued alone until 1964, when there was a break. None of these explorations were on a very large scale, as emerges from the fact that the urban development of the ancient city is still very incompletely known.

On the other hand, the various *sondages* in distinct sectors of the deposit and the study of the material brought to light has enabled various chronological phases in the city's occupation to be distinguished. First was a primitive phase, of the 6th century, characterized by its hand-made pottery of types Mailhacian III, Ensérune I, and Pech Maho I. Its imported ware consists, according to Solier,[1] of: Attic black-figure ware, Etruscan ware, Phoenico-Punic ware, Ionian ware and Western Greek ware, comprising in particular the pottery painted in bands which is so abundant and characteristic a feature of this as of the whole Iberian area. I need only mention among the most characteristic forms of this pottery recovered at Montlaurès a typical vessel with perforated lugs. Some Western grey ware has also been found there.

A second phase, of the 5th-4th centuries, is characterized by pottery of Saint-Valentin and Pre-Campanian type, by Punic amphoras, and again painted ware, though in a rougher style than that of the preceding phase.[2]

The final phase of Montlaurès covers the 3rd-1st centuries. The almost total absence of Aretine sigillate ware indicates that Montlaurès must have been abandoned before the year 30 B.C.

---

[1] Solier et Giry, *Narbonne*, I, pp. 92 f.
[2] Solier et Giry, *Narbonne*, I, pp. 95 ff.

In the present state of our knowledge we can record the finding, at the least, of four scarabs at Montlaurès.[3]

*Bibliography*

Henri Rouzaud, *Journal des trouvailles archéologiques. Extrait du relevé concernant Montlaurès*, in *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne*, 31, Narbonne, 1969, pp. 1 ff.
Henri Rouzaud, *Journal des trouvailles archéologiques. Extrait du relevé concernant Montlaurès*, in *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne*, 32, Narbonne, 1970, pp. 21 ff.
Philippe Héléna, *Les Origines de Narbonne*, Toulouse-Paris, 1937.
Yves Solier, *Les fouilles de Peyriac-de-Mer (Aude)*, in *Bulletin de la Société d'Études Scientifiques de l'Aude*, LXI, Limoux, 1960, pp. 71 ff.
Joseph Giry, *Montlaurès, Fouilles de 1961*, in *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne*, XXV, Narbonne, 1962, pp. 159 ff.
Fernand Benoit, *Recherches sur l'hellénisation du Midi de la Gaule*, Publications des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres, Nouvelle Série, No. 43, Aix-en-Provence, 1965.
J. Giry et A. F. Mare, *Narbonne, son histoire, ses monuments*, Paris, 1970.
Yves Solier et Joseph Giry, *Les recherches archéologiques à Montlaurès: État des Questions*, in *Narbonne. Archéologie et Histoire. I, Montlaurès et les origines de Narbonne. Colloque organisé à l'initiative de la Direction des Antiquités Historiques du Languedoc-Roussillon, à l'occasion du XLV^e Congrès de la Fédération Historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon, tenu à Narbonne les 14, 15 et 16 avril 1972*, Montpellier, 1973, pp. 77 ff.
Hélène Guiraud, *Pierres gravées de la Collection Charra*, in *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne*, 35, Narbonne, 1973, pp. 175 ff.

## **Montlaurès, No. 03.01** Scarab

*Material and Colour*: Green Stone (Jasper?).

*Measurements*: Unknown.

*Place of Keeping*: Lost.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: This scarab was found at Montlaurès by an ancestor of a former proprietor of the deposit, Monsieur Ducros de Saint-Germain, who told Henri Rouzaud about it when the latter began his excavations,[4] and later, in September 1910, showed it to him, having found it again after it had been lost for a time. Thus Rouzaud was able to describe it in his *Journal manuscrit*.[5] Years later, however, Héléna was already talking about this and other Montlaurès scarabs, quoting Rouzaud's *Journal* and adding that none of these pieces had been preserved. Héléna never stated the number of scarabs found at Montlaurès but confined himself to referring to them in the plural.[6] Regarding the materials of which

[3] I thank the Abbé J. Giry for having authorized me to study the scarab found during his excavations.

[4] Rouzaud, *BCAN*, 31, pp. 8 f.

[5] Rouzaud, *BCAN*, 32, pp. 22 f.

[6] Héléna, *Origines de Narbonne*, p. 358, refers to three passages from the *Journal* of

they were made he merely wrote "agate or steatite" without specifying further. Later, Benoit refers to the agate and steatite scarabs from Montlaurès quoting Héléna.[7] Y. Solier, for his part refers to one scarab collected at Montlaurès and another at Ensérune, during the first excavations in these two deposits, quoting MM. Héléna and Claustres for the information.[8] But Solier himself later refers to two scarabs of cornelian found some time previously at Montlaurès by M. Rouzaud and now lost, without any mention of M. Ducros' scarab. Solier on the subject of the scarabs refers to Héléna's book.[9] Let me add in conclusion that the parts of Rouzaud's *Journal* concerning the Montlaurès excavations are now being published in the *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne*, from which I have taken my notes and to which I refer the reader.[10]

*Bibliography*: Rouzaud, *BCAN*, 31, pp. 8 f. Rouzaud, *BCAN*, 32, pp. 22 f. Héléna, *Origines de Narbonne*, p. 358 and n. 1. Benoit, *Recherches*, p. 68. Solier et Giry, *Narbonne*, I, p. 95 and n. 63.

*Date*: 4th century, probably.

*Description*: Longitudinally pierced. The incised work was very mediocre. The scene was framed by an oval of dots, irregular and roughly finished. It was supported probably by a cross-hatched *nb* sign, (Rouzaud calls it a sort of rounded or pseudoconical hand) and was composed of two birds, or a formless group, or a raven and cat or fox.[11]

*Parallels*: As may be supposed, it is quite impossible to say anything positive on this head.

*Conclusion*: Almost nothing can be said about the scarabs found in Montlaurès by MM. Ducros and Rouzaud. We do not know if these pieces were really ancient like another scarab found more recently in the same deposit, No. 03.04, or of later date. Though any of the various alternatives must strictly be left open, these scarabs together with the other Egyptian pieces found in Languedoc and here studied must be regarded as proof of an active Phoenico-Punic trade on the Gulf of Lions littoral, as shown above all by its pottery.

---

Rouzaud, in one of which (January 1906) there is nothing but a doubtful report; cf. Rouzaud, *BCAN*, 31, p. 2.

[7] Benoit, *Recherches*, p. 68 and n. 24.

[8] Solier, *BSESA*, LXI, p. 78.

[9] Solier et Giry, *Narbonne*, I, p. 95 and n. 63.

[10] So far as concerns us here, it is enough to quote Rouzaud, *BCAN*, 31, pp. 1 ff. and Rouzaud, *BCAN*, 32, pp. 21 ff.

[11] This all I could get out of Rouzaud's none too clear description.

**Montlaurès, No. 03.02** Scarab

*Material and Colour*: Cornelian.

*Measurements*: Unknown.

*Place of Keeping*: Lost.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found by Rouzaud on 17 February 1907 in Montlaurès, on the slope facing Bougna.[12] For further details on the history of this and other scarabs from Montlaurès, see previous entry, No. 03.01.

*Bibliography*: Rouzaud, *BCAN*, 31, p. 8. Héléna, *Origines de Narbonne*, p. 358 and n. 1. Solier, *BSESA*, LXI, p. 78. Benoit, *Recherches*, p. 68. Solier et Giry, *Narbonne*, I, p. 95 and n. 63.

*Date*: 4th-3rd centuries, probably.

*Description*: Rouzaud describes it indifferently as a scarab and a scaraboid; its reverse shows a stag's head front face, of good workmanship.[13]

*Parallels*: —.

*Conclusion*: The finding of at least three scarabs at Montlaurès proves the importance of the Phoenico-Punic commercial impact on this Languedocian deposit.

**Montlaurès, No, 03.03** Scarab (Pl. XXXI)

*Material and Colour*: Red Cornelian.

*Measurements*: length, 1.1 cm., breadth, 0.8 cm., height, 0.5 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Narbonne Archaeological Museum (donated to this Museum in December 1973).

*Circumstances of Discovery*: This scarab was found recently in the Collection of M. Charra, who had bought it from Rouzaud. It is therefore to be supposed that Rouzaud must have found it at Montlaurès, but its description does not agree with that of any of the pieces recorded by Rouzaud in his *Journal*, and we are therefore ignorant of the exact circumstances of its discovery.[14]

*Bibliography*: Guiraud, *BCAN*, 35, pp. 177 f., Pl. II,6, nn. 13 & 14 on pp. 184 f.

---

[12] Rouzaud, *BCAN*, 31, p. 8.

[13] Rouzaud, *BCAN*, 31, p. 8.

[14] I owe all these data to the kindness of M. Yves Solier, who also enabled me to study the piece in the Narbonne Archaeological Museum, for all of which my cordial thanks. Equally I must thank Mlle. Hélène Guiraud for the pictorial documentation with which she supplied me on the piece.

*Date*: Guiraud dated the scarab to the 3rd century, which seems very likely in view of its style.

*Description*: Dorsal scheme Type VI, with the thorax and elytra separated by a notched line and the elytra from one another by two parallel lines. The elytra have, in addition, each a triangle at the top. The legs of the scarab are summarily indicated. The piece is longitudinally pierced. The reverse is fashioned in the globular technique. On it, surrounded by a line, a naked horseman wearing a helmet is depicted, mounted on a horse galloping to the right. The horseman's legs are not shown.

*Parallels*: Mounted horsemen are abundantly represented on Pseudo-egyptian scarabs from the Western Mediterranean, especially among the Etruscans.[15]

*Conclusion*: It seems risky to pronounce one way or the other on whether any scarab of this type is of Etruscan manufacture, but I do think it probable enough considering the great number which have been found in Etruria and the Etruscan inscriptions which some of them have. As far as I am concerned, I must classify this piece as without any doubt Pseudoegyptian.

**Montlaurès, No. 03.04** Scarab (Pl. XXXII)

*Material and Colour*: Composition with a green glaze.

*Measurements*: length 1.1 cm., breadth 0.8 cm., height 0.7 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Giry Collection in Nissan Parish Church.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: In *Parcelle* 749, south of Montlaurès and not far from Les Deillals, the Abbé Giry in 1961 excavated a curious structure of stones measuring 4 × 4.50 m., without a door but with a gravel floor under which a "newborn" (?) child had beed buried,[16] a practice well attested in the houses of several Languedocian deposits (Mailhac, Lattes, Pech-Maho). The interior of the structure had been filled with a heap of stones forming a regular mound and beside it the scarab in question was found. Giry at the time of the excavation interpreted the assemblage as a votive monument accompanied by an infant sacrifice. Solier on the other hand thought this an unproven and improbable hypothesis, though he does admit the probability that a sanctuary existed in this sector, given the proximity of some springs.

---

[15] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 227 f. Zazoff, *Scarabäen*, p. 136, No. 283, Pl. 53, very like the Montlaurès example.

[16] The quotation and question marks are from Solier et Giry, *Narbonne*, I, p. 89, from which I have taken the description of the circumstances in which the scarab was found.

*Bibliography*: Giry, *BCAN*, XXV, p. 165. Giry et Mare, *Narbonne*, p. 15. Solier et Giry, *Narbonne*, I, pp. 89, 94 f., fig. 10.

*Date*: According to Solier and Giry the archaeological context allows this scarab to be dated to the 6th century, a date which by and large corresponds, according to these authors, with the chronology put forward for scarabs of similar workmanship.[17] The style of the hieroglyphs does in fact recall the productions of Naucratis, so that the conclusion of Solier and Giry in respect of this one seems to me entirely correct.

*Description*: This scarab is not in a good state of preservation. Its glaze has almost completely disappeared, showing the bluecoloured composition. Its dorsal scheme is of Type IVa, with the thorax and elytra marked by a single line. It is longitudinally pierced. On the reverse the *praenomen* or name of "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" of Amenhotep III, *Nb-M3ʿt-Rʿ*, can be read.

*Parallels*: The *praenomen* of Amenhotep III, one of the most illustrious Pharaohs of the New Kingdom, is represented very abundantly on scarabs of the Saite Period. I confine myself for the moment to mentioning the scarab nearest to that of Montlaurès in geography and typology, No. 09.07 of Can Canyís.[18] When I come to study this piece in due course I shall indicate its parallels in the Peninsula and in other parts of the Mediterranean.

*Conclusion*: The particular stylization of the hieroglyphic signs on this scarab emphatically recalls the products of Naucratis from where the Montlaurès piece must have come. Solier and Giry correctly attribute this importation to Phoenico-Punic trade, which in other respects they see as relatively restricted at Montlaurès. However, the presence in this deposit of an abundance of painted ware, some of it even polychrome, probably West Phoenician products from the south of the Peninsula and which the authors classify among "Western Greek pottery", shows that the Phoenician colonial presence at Montlaurès was of much greater importance than has been allowed.

## 4. L'ILETTE. PEYRIAC-DE-MER (AUDE)

The Ilette deposit lies at the edge of the Doul lagoon, rising from the middle of mud flats and salt pans. The Doul lagoon, adjoining the Bages lagoon, stretches along the seashore a few kilometres south of Narbonne. Traces of the Chalcolithic and Bronze Ages have been found at L'Ilette,

[17] Solier et Giry, *Narbonne*, I, p. 95.
[18] Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 131, No. 7.

which must have been a busy port in Roman times as shown by the abundance of Massaliot and Roman amphoras found there. An early find was a hoard of Republican denarii, of the 3rd to early 1st centuries. At an equal distance of about 300 m. from the Jardin Dauzat, the find-spot of this hoard, and the Chalcolithic site already referred to, there were found in 1957, thanks to the result of the work of Fabre and Barbouteau, three hearths and a deposit, remains probably of an open-air foundry. These remains came to light in the Pratviel vineyard, which stretches at right angles from what is called the Garouilla road some 50 metres from its junction with the Bages highway.

The hearths were at a depth of 1 m., the three in a straight line and separated about 80 cm. from one another. Each consisted of a circular ditch 35 cm. in diameter and 30 cm. deep, bounded by 5 flat stones. The excavator, M. Fabre, ascertained that the interior was full of ashes and charcoal, while a number of shapeless bronze fragments were collected from around them. The deposit itself, though it could not be completely excavated, yielded an abundance of archaeological material, especially from the 3rd-1st centuries, but some going back to the 6th. The material was in complete disorder, so that no stratigraphy could be established.

One scarab was found in the Ilette excavations.[1]

*Bibliography*

Yves Solier, *Les fouilles de Peyriac-de-Mer*, in *Bulletin de la Société d'Études Scientifiques de l'Aude*, LXI, Limoux, 1960, pp. 71 ff.

Fernand Benoit, *Recherches sur l'Hellénisation du Midi de la Gaule*, Publications des Annales de la Faculté des Lettres. Nouvelle Série, No. 43, Aix-en-Provence, 1965.

Yves Solier et Joseph Giry, *Les recherches archéologiques à Montlaurès : État des Questions*, in *Narbonne. Archéologie et Histoire. I. Montlaurès et les origines de Narbonne. Colloque organisé à l'initiative de la Direction des Antiquités Historiques du Languedoc-Roussillon, à l'occasion du XLV^e Congrès de la Fédération Historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon, tenu à Narbonne les 14, 15 et 16 avril 1972*, Montpellier, 1973, pp. 77 ff.

**L'Ilette, No. 04.01** Scarab (Pl. XXXIII)

*Material and Colour* : Glazed blue composition.

*Measurements* : length 1.3 cm., breadth 1.1 cm., height 0.7 cm.

*Place of Keeping* : Museum of the *Société Archéologique de Peyriac-de-Mer.*

*Circumstances of Discovery* : In September 1957 agricultural work in the Pratviel vineyard (*Parcelle* 489, Section 8 of the Land Cadastral Survey) led to the identification of three hearths and an important deposit.

---

[1] I thank M. Y. Solier for having allowed me to study this piece, and MM. Henri Fabre and Henri Barbouteau for the facilities they accorded me at the Museum.

MM. Fabre and Barbouteau, membres of the Peyriac Archaeological Group, undertook a series of *sondages*, from which they came to the conclusion that the site was that of a small open-air foundry. Excavation of the deposit proved very rewarding but it was only possible to excavate a trench 5 m. long by 3 m. deep, without reaching the limits of the deposit, because the vineyards had been quickly replanted. Nor was it possible to establish any valid stratigraphy since the archaeological material was in complete disorder. Thus, at the bottom of the excavation an Italian amphora of the 1st century was found, while at a depth of one metre there appeared fragments of pottery painted with concentric bands, which Solier called Ibero-Ionian, and of Campanian A. The archaeological material began to appear at a depth of 0.9 m. and consisted of numerous pieces of iron, lead, and bronze, dross of the same metals, an abundance of animal bones, amphoras from the end of the 2nd century and beginning of the 1st, Campanian ware, ordinary pottery of various types, fragments of a ware painted with concentric bands in ochre which Solier calls "Western Greek", Greek, Gallic, and Roman Republican coins of the 3rd to 1st centuries, and finally the scarab here described.[2]

*Bibliography*: Solier, *BSESA*, LXI, pp. 77 ff., fig. 2. Benoit, *Recherches*, p. 68. Solier et Giry, *Narbonne*, I, p. 95, n. 65.

*Date*: Solier correctly recognizes in the style of scarab a product of Naucratis, to be dated to the 6th century. He seems inclined to think, however, that it was lost or abandoned between the 3rd and 1st centuries, judging from the great mass of the archaeological material recovered from the Ilette deposit. But Solier himself warns us not to draw archaeological conclusions from this deposit. Though it is very possible, as the author suggests, that the scarab was abandoned in the 3rd to 1st centuries, the fact remains that we have no proof of it. The scarab could have been lost or abandoned much earlier and simply been thrown into the Ilette deposit in a later tipping of soil, together with the fragments of banded ware, called by Solier "Western Greek", and which in the Languedoc deposits has been exactly dated to the 6th century. It is all the more possible that the scarab found its way to L'Ilette in the 6th century in view of the fact that the site was occupied at least from the Chalcolithic onward.[3]

*Description*: This scarab is not in a very good state of preservation and the glaze has come off most of it. Its dorsal scheme seems to be

[2] Solier, *BSESA*, LXI, pp. 73 ff.
[3] Solier, *BSESA*, LXI, p. 73.

Type IVa with thorax and elytra well-defined. It is longitudinally pierced. The legs are represented by a few lateral nicks, as usual in scarabs of this type. On the reverse, which preserves some traces of gilding, a lion is depicted rearing on its hind legs to attack an antelope. The engraving technique is downright bad. Moreover, the state of wear of the piece has affected the ind parts of the lion, which is on the left, and the head of the antelope, which is on the right of the scene.

*Parallels*: The motif depicted on this scarab seems to be of Asiatic origin, though well documented in Egypt, especially in the Saite Period[4] and at Naucratis in particular.[5] In the West parallels are known from Carthage[6] and Ibiza.[7] Scarab No. 07.07, from Empúries, has a similar scene, but the work is of better quality and in it the lion has already reached the antelope and is right upon it.[8]

*Conclusion*: This scarab can with certainty be set down as of Egyptian manufacture and dates to the 6th century. Its place of manufacture was perhaps Naucratis, to judge from the style of the engraving. It seems logical to suppose that it reached the Languedocian coast by way of Phoenician trade like the striped painted pottery, also in the 6th century. From this level upward the soil is already much looser and more disturbed, owing to the condition of the deposit in which it was found. Personally I think it most likely that the scarab ceased to be in use (perhaps through being mislaid) actually in the 6th century itself, and that it came to rest in the Ilette deposit among filling debris, together with the fragments of banded ware and other later material between the 3rd and 1st centuries. It must be recognized however that Solier's view that the scarab was in use till the 3rd to 1st centuries and then lost is strictly speaking no less possible. My view, on the other hand, is grounded in considerations of a statistical order. In the course of this catalogue we shall see that contrary to a common opinion among the archaeologists the scarabs are usually found in a well defined archaeological context with a chronology of its own. I think that some authorities tend to undervalue these amulets for dating purposes by assigning too recent a date to the deposits in which they are found. But detailed examination of the deposits always reveals the presence of other materials of like date with any scarabs they may contain. This is the case with the

---

[4] Newberry, *CGC. Scarab-shaped seals*, No. 36456, p. 115, Pl. VII.

[5] Gardner, *Naukratis*, II, Pl. XVIII, 7.

[6] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 131, Nos. 149-150, Pl. V; p. 159, No. 258, Pl. VIII; pp. 232 f., Nos. 623-625, Pl. XVII.

[7] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, pp. 67 & 72, Nos. 315 & 379, Pl. XXIII,1 & XXVI,2.

[8] Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, p. 121.

L'Ilette deposit, where, as we have already seen, Solier has reported the presence of pottery fragments dating back to the 6th century. Let me now turn to the motif depicted on this scarab, which I have already described as of Asiatic origin. In Egypt, where we must always rule out purely decorative considerations, a meaning must be looked for in the scarab's design. In order to understand it, we note that the antelope was a "Typhonian" animal (associated, that is, with Seth) endowed with peculiarly maleficent powers. Logically then the lion, protector of the daily course of the sun and to be identified, as a sphinx, with the Pharaoh, would attack an animal as dangerous as the antelope. So the possessor of the L'Ilette scarab must have felt himself secure against the dark Typhonian forces, under the protection of the lion itself.

# II. CATALONIA

## 5. RHODE, ROSES (GERONA)

The present town of Roses is situated at the north of the Gulf of that name and at the foot of the Serra de Roda, the most southerly of the Pyrenaean spurs which enter the sea east of the town and give it such a splendid natural harbour. Its geographical advantages have caused it to be intensively occupied at all periods, as is shown by the great importance of the archaeological remains in its vicinity. West of the town, adjoining its houses and overtopped already by its modern development, rises La Ciutadella (the "Citadel"), a considerable 18th century fortress containing, among other remains, those of the Romanesque church of Santa Maria situated on a small knoll.

In the subsoil of La Ciutadella the remains of an ancient Greek colony have been found. Sporadic work has been done on the site at various times, the earliest going back to the years 1916-17, directed by Bosch and carried out by Gandia.[1] But neither this previous work nor the campaigns conducted by Oliva from 1963 onward, which brought to light some substantial urban buildings of the Hellenistic period, have yet provided decisive evidence that the Ciutadella remains are those of *Rhode*,[2] the colony founded by the people of Rhodes, according to the texts, in the time before the Olympiads.[3] For the moment the most ancient objects found there go back at most to the 6th century.[4] But this is not significant considering the small scope of the excavations so far. They have, however, shown that the city had two peaks of splendour, that in the Hellenistic age already mentioned and another in the late Roman.

From the excavations of La Ciutadella de Roses one scarab has been recovered.[5]

*Bibliography*

Juan Maluquer de Motes, *La colonia griega de Rhode, localizada*, in *Zephyrus*, XIV, Salamanca, 1963, pp. 99 f.

---

[1] Oliva, *R.Ge.*, 31, p. 65.
[2] Oliva, *R.Ge.*, 31, pp. 72 f. Maluquer, *Hom. Vicens Vives*, I, pp. 144 f.
[3] Scymnus, 196. Strabon, *Geogr.*, III, 4, 8 and XIV, 2, 10.
[4] Oliva, *R.Ge.*, 31, pp. 68 and 73.
[5] We are indebted to the late Dr. Oliva for enabling us to study this piece.

Miguel Oliva Prat, *Historia de las excavaciones de Rosas*, in *Revista de Gerona*, 31, Gerona, 1965 (special number devoted to Roses), pp. 63 ff.
Joan Maluquer de Motes, *Rhode, la ciutat grega més antiga de Catalunya*, in *Homenaje a Jaime Vicens Vives*, I, Barcelona, 1965, pp. 143 ff.
Juan Maluquer de Motes, *El impacto colonial griego y el comienzo de la vida urbana en Cataluña*, Barcelona, 1966, pp. 15 ff.
Gloria Trías de Arribas, *Cerámicas griegas de la Península Ibérica*, I, Texto, Publicaciones de Arqueología Hispánica, II, Serie Primera, Monografías sobre cerámicas hispánicas, 2, Valencia, 1967, pp. 231 f. (with the early literature of the deposit).
A. Arribas y J. Wilkins, *La necrópolis fenicia del Cortijo de las Sombras (Frigiliana, Málaga)*, in *Pyrenae*, 5, Barcelona, 1969, p. 208.
J. Padró, *Un escarabeo de ámbar procedente de las excavaciones de Rhode (Roses)*, in *Ampurias*, 33-34, Barcelona, 1971-72, pp. 293 ff.
J. Padró Parcerisa, *Los escarabeos de Emporion*, in *Miscelánea Arqueológica. XXV Aniversario de los Cursos Internacionales de Prehistoria y Arqueología en Ampurias (1947-1971)*, II, Barcelona, 1974, pp. 113 ff.

**Roses, No. 05.01** Scarab (Pl. XXXIV)

*Material and Colour*: Red Amber.[6]

*Measurements*: length 2.2. cm., breadth 1.5 cm., height 1.3 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Gerona Archaeological Museum.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found on 1 April 1968 in the course of the excavations of the deposit in Cut 2, Hospital Sector. According to recent statements by Professor Maluquer de Motes, the scarab appeared in an archaeological context of the Hellenistic period.

*Bibliography*: Arribas y Wilkins, *Pyrenae*, 5, p. 208. Padró, *Ampurias*, 33-34, pp. 293 ff. Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, p. 125.

*Date*: The piece must be dated to the 4th or 3rd century, which accords with its archaeological context.

*Description*: The piece is much eroded, probably owing to the material of which it is made, and almost all its detail has been obliterated. On the back, moreover, there is the mark of a recent blow, received probably at the moment of discovery. This has served at least to verify that the red colour is not due to changes in some surface coating but is the homogeneous colouring of the whole piece. Despite its condition, I think its dorsal scheme can be definitely assigned to Type III. The clypeus, which has now almost completely disappeared, must have been very small. The thorax is indicated but not the elytra. Nor are there any traces of the legs, which cannot have

[6] Variety of yellow amber relatively frequent in the Iberian Peninsula from the Bronze Age onwards. I mention as examples some pendants from Los Millares or the fragments found in Megalithic tombs of the Catalonian region. This variety of amber seems to originate in the Mediterranean area.

been deeply incised if they were there at all. On the reverse nothing is left but faint traces of the design. It seems possible to distinguish a squat human figure with contracted legs, probably resting its arms on its legs, and perhaps with a cap or wig on its head. All this, I repeat, is very uncertain, but the design could be taken for a representation of Bes. The scarab is longitudinally pierced.

*Parallels*: It is interesting to note here that scarabs and other objects of amber are almost unknown in Carthage and that this can be said in general also of the Punic world,[7] whereas they are very abundant in the Etruscan world, as for instance in Vetulonia.[8] If the almost obliterated design on the reverse is in fact the god Bes, the piece would be one more example among many examples of a widely distributed and abundant type.[9]

*Conclusion*: We have here a really important amulet, not only because of the apotropaic virtues of the scarab but also because it is made of amber. This material was credited in antiquity with extraordinary curative properties, even to some extent by the doctors themselves.[10] It was also supposed, according to Theophrastus[11] and Pliny,[12] to afford protection to women and children, an idea which has moreover survived into modern times. On the other hand if the design is indeed one of Bes, this would have considerably increased its virtues. Bes, Egyptian guardian deity against evil spirits in general and over childbirth and infancy in particular, would thus have combined his powers with those of amber as a material and the scarab as an amulet. All this must have made it a very valuable amulet to its owners.

The curative properties attributed to amber in antiquity were as we know responsible for an active trade between the Baltic regions producing yellow amber and the Mediterranean, from prehistoric times onward.[13] Its very importance fostered the utilization of other varieties of fossil amber collected in different localities, together with other very similar fossil resins easily

---

[7] Gsell, *Hist. Anc.*, IV, pp. 103 f. Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 350.

[8] Gsell, *Hist. Anc.*, IV, p. 103. Bissing, *St. Etr.*, V, pp. 49 ff., Pl. II ff. Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 350.

[9] The image of Bes is most frequent on late scarabs of non-Egyptian manufacture: Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 210, 344.

[10] Daumas, *CdE*, XLVI, 91, pp. 54 ff.

[11] According to Ibn el Beithar, *Traité des simples de Ibn el Beithar*, translated by L. Leclerq, vol. III, Paris, 1883, p. 210, quoted by Daumas, *CdE*, XLVI, 91, pp. 57 f.

[12] Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXVII, 11. On this see Dechelette, *Manuel*, II, 3, pp. 1327 ff.

[13] Dechelette, *Manuel*, I, pp. 623 ff. Dechelette, *Manuel*, II, 1, pp. 19 ff. Dechelette, *Manuel*, II, 2, pp. 872 ff. Dechelette, *Manuel*, II, 3, pp. 1327 ff.

confused with amber.[14] Remarking on this fact, Daumas has recently emphasized that for the Egyptians all these fossil resins must have been simply amber,[15] and I for one am convinced that this statement can be extended generally to all ancient peoples.

I have already indicated the abundance of amber scarabs in the Etruscan world. Since red amber was found in Italy, it cannot be doubted that this scarab was of Etruscan manufacture, and though we do not know of any other amber scarab either from the Peninsula or from the south of France, I have been able to identify a certain number of scarabs of Etruscan type in neighbouring *Emporion*, and these are not the only Etruscan products to have been found in the mentioned Phocaean colony and its surrounding lands.[16]

To conclude, this scarab may be classified as a Pseudoegyptian piece.

## 6. PERALADA (GERONA)

The discovery of several cremation tombs in the Park of El Castell de Peralada was made by chance in the second half of the nineteenth century, in the course of tree-planting and earth-moving works. The cremation urns were accompanied by grave-goods consisting principally of weapons, with other objects as well. Part of the material brought to light was collected and kept in the castle itself, though without any consistent regard to the relation of the pieces with one another. Some of them furthermore were mixed with other objects bought from second-hand dealers and included in the collection.[1] All this has made it really difficult to be sure which objects were actually found in the Necropolis.

The only study of the assemblage so far published is that of Bosch,[2] who used a completely subjective criterion to decide which pieces came

[14] Lucas, *Materials*, pp. 444 f., mentions the use by the Egyptians of many fossil resins similar to amber but not amber, for instance in the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen.

[15] Daumas, *CdE*, XLVI, 91, pp. 50 f. and 57.

[16] García y Bellido, *AEAArq*, XII, XXXV, pp. 191 ff., mentions some Etruscan pieces from *Emporion*. Recently a piece has been recorded from Ullastret: Sanahuja, *Pyrenae*, 7, pp. 162 ff. Etruscan objects of this period are definitely scarce in Catalonia compared with the mass of exotic objects of other origins, and this observation can be likewise extended to amber objects.

[1] In this context I should like to note the existence in this collection of a ceramic ring with a magnificent Egyptian blue glaze, showing an *udjat* eye, of completely unknown provenance. The ring is in a showcase exhibiting a large collection of glasses, some of them Roman, coming probably from Empúries.

[2] Bosch, *Anuari*, VI, pp. 590 ff.

from the Necropolis and which did not. He omitted all mention of the scarab, which however he must certainly have known. Perhaps he could not believe that a scarab could possibly have appeared in a Necropolis of the Peralada type. This omission, however, is all the more strange in view of the fact that he mentions, together with pieces he thinks unquestionably came from the Necropolis, others which he regards as of doubtful provenance.

Bosch in his study thought it a post-Hallstatt necropolis. He dated it to a single short period in the second half of the 4th century, and consequently removed from the collection those pieces which he thought inconsistent with this dating. Bosch saw that the resulting assemblage did not correspond to the type of civilization prevailing in Iberia at that date, or even further to the north in Roussillon and Languedoc, and concluded that the Peralada Necropolis constituted a Gallic enclave south of the Pyrenees. In fact we have elements enough to correct the date attributed by Bosch to the greater part of the Necropolis material. The high-footed urns and vessels (these in fact referable to Languedocian types and comparable with vessels from Languedocian deposits), the lid with pierced lugs, the safety-pin fibula with high catch-plate, the belt buckles with one, two, and three hooks, the antennae-hilted swords, do comprise an assemblage which can very well be dated to the 6th century.[3] The Hellenistic vessels cited by Bosch simply indicate that the Necropolis remained in use till much later times, just as other material can be put back earlier than the 6th century. It is difficult and hazardous to form definitive conclusions, especially when account is taken of the fact that such an extensive necropolis, with a furniture so rich in metal, must necessarily have been rich also in pottery. A great part of this ceramic material, excessively fragmented as it must have been, must certainly also have been discarded at the moment of discovery. And still later some pieces were lost. However that may be, it seems certain that in Peralada we have a typically native necropolis from the region of Empordà, basically 6th-century, having ethnic and cultural links with Languedoc, and that in view of its situation it had not yet become "Iberianized", that is to say it had not yet acquired the typical banded ware characteristic of that period and attributable to the activities of Phoenician commerce.

In the Necropolis of Peralada there was found in all probability one scarab.[4]

---

[3] All the same, Bosch himself, *Poblamiento*, p. 339, in 1944 dated the Necropolis to the 6th century, though without giving reasons.

[4] Any doubts that might be felt vanish in consideration of the assemblage of material in the Necropolis, into which the scarab fits perfectly.

*Bibliography*[5]

Pere Bosch Gimpera, *La necròpolis de Perelada*, in *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, VI, Barcelona, 1915-20, pp. 590 ff.

**Peralada, No. 06.01** Scarab (Pl. XXXV)

*Material and Colour*: Dark glazed composition (?).

*Measurements*: —.

*Place of Keeping*: At present lost, it formed part of the archaeological collection of the Palace of Peralada until about the year 1960, when it disappeared in the course of a transfer of material, including some pieces from the Peralada Necropolis, which were taken to Gerona for restoration. In charge of the operation was Señor M. Golobardes Vila.[6]

*Circumstances of Discovery*: According to Señor M. Costa Serra, the scarab was found, without any doubt, in the Necropolis. All the same, the exact circumstances of the find are not known.

*Bibliography*: No account has been published.[7]

*Date*: The scarab must be assigned, like the Necropolis assemblage, to the 6th century.

*Description*: —.

*Parallels*: —.

*Conclusion*: Probably it was a scarab of Egyptian manufacture. Its presence in a necropolis of the Mediterranean Iberian littoral is nothing remarkable, as is proved by an abundance of similar finds surveyed in this book.

## 7. EMPORION, EMPÚRIES. SANT MARTÍ D'EMPÚRIES, L'ESCALA (GERONA)

The Greek colony of *Emporion* is today the best-known archaeological deposit in the Peninsula. Though it had remained buried until the

[5] A monograph on the Necropolis has long been announced, to be edited by Oliva with a foreword by Maluquer de Motes, but has not been completed because of Oliva's death.

[6] Data kindly supplied by Señor Martín Costa Serra, librarian of the Palace of Peralada and custodian of its archaeological collection.

[7] No reference to this scarab has yet been published. I owe the knowledge of its existence to Dr. Maluquer de Motes, who remembered it when he saw it again in an old photograph used in a seminar by Dr. Bosch. It was lying on its back among other material from the Necropolis.

beginning of the 20th century, the memory of its location was never entirely lost, owing in great part to chance finds of objects. The ruins were mentioned as early as the 17th century by the historians Pujades and Marca,[1] and since the 18th century we already have references to various collections.[2] By the end of the 19th century the search for objects had become a veritable scramble, encouraged by the traffic in antiquities, and the very rich and ancient Necropolis of Portitxol for instance was thoroughly ransacked. To put an end to this situation, in 1908 the state gave exclusive rights of excavation to the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, and since that date the ruins of Empúries have been continuously excavated without interruption. Up till 1939 the excavations were directed first by Puig i Cadafalch, then by Bosch Gimpera, and carried out by Gandia, who kept a copious *Diario*, now preserved in the Museo Monográfico. The chronicle of the excavations was published in addition in the *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*. Since 1939 the excavations have been directed successively by Almagro and by Ripoll, and their progress could be followed in the notes appearing principally in the review *Ampurias*. Mention must be made also, among other publications, of the series of *Monografias Ampuritanas*.

*Emporion* is situated on the south coast of the Gulf of Roses, that is, at the other side of the Gulf and actually opposite the colony of *Rhode*, from which it is about 15 kilometres distant in a straight line. Behind Emporion extends the plain of Empordà, occupied in antiquity by an Iberian people, the Indigetes, who must have been rapidly Hellenized to judge from the quantity of imported material found in the population centres of this period in the region. As far as is known at present, the city was founded about the year 600 by the Phocaeans, who established themselves in the first instance on the islet of Sant Martí d'Empúries, now joined to the mainland. But very soon the Phocaeans crossed to the interior, perhaps about 580, which is the date of the oldest objects found there.[3] The islet nucleus of the colony was called *Palaiapolis* by the inhabitants of Emporion themselves.[4] At the same time as this colony the Phocaeans had founded Massalia (Marseilles) and throughout the 6th century the two colonies actively plied their trade. It was traditionally believed that the two remained

---

[1] Pujades, *Coronica Universal*, 2, XV, pp. 46 and 47. Marca, *Marca Hispanica*, 2, XVIII, I-IX, col$^{s}$ 171-177.

[2] Almagro, *Ampurias*$^{3}$, p. 110.

[3] Tarradell, *Arrels*, p. 237. Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, pp. 31 ff.

[4] Strabon, *Geogr.*, III, 4, 8.

in close association up to the Roman period, but some years ago Villard demonstrated that about the year 500 Massalia entered a long period of crisis, while it was at this very time that Emporion's commercial relations with Athens reached their height, as is shown by the massive accumulation of Attic ware in this Western colony.[5] And more recently Maluquer has noted that throughout the sixth century itself the manufactures reaching Emporion were essentially distinct from those reaching Massalia.[6] In consequence, from denying the commercial dependence of Emporion on Massalia, Maluquer has gone on to ask by what route the majority of its imports reached Emporion in the 6th century, originating as they did in Rhodes, Cyprus, Ionia, Corinth, Etruria, and Naucratis, and in the 5th, when they were replaced by imports from Attica. His conclusion is that they came from Carthage by the intermediary of the colony of Ibiza, founded according to the tradition in 654. In fact the Punic trade was well known in the Valencian and Catalan regions at a later period. Recent finds of 6th and 7th century material in various places are providing evidence that earlier too there was a considerable Phoenician trading activity there. It is not certain that this trade, coming from the Andalusian coast and the south-east of the Peninsula, had roots in the colony of Ibiza, tightly connected with Carthage.[7] Phoenician trade was directed towards Languedoc and the finds at Emporion show that this Greek colony was not immune from its penetration. Relations with the Punic world were kept later, and Empúries copied the Carthaginian coinage, which came much into use among the native Catalan tribes.[8]

With much the same freedom the Greeks of Emporion kept up commercial trading relations with the Etruscans, though our knowledge of this commerce in Emporion is far inferior, since there are no recent studies of it. It is possible that the 4th-century treaties between Romans and Carthaginians had as their object the protection of the Etruscan trade which more and more was coming under Roman control. After the treaty of 226, Emporion remained outside the Carthaginian zone of influence. When the Carthaginians crossed the Ebro in 218, the Greek city remained loyal to Rome, converting itself into the base from which the Roman armies began the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. In the same year 218 the Romans disembarked in Emporion, the future *Emporiae*, to begin the final expulsion of the Carthaginians.

---

[5] Villard, *Céramique grecque*, p. 114 ff.
[6] Maluquer, *V SIPP*, pp. 245 f.
[7] Tarradell i Font, *Eivissa cartaginesa*, pp. 266 f.
[8] Maluquer, *V SIPP*, p. 250.

The city, permanently allied to Rome throughout the vicissitudes of the second century, preserved its political independence until Caesar converted it into a Roman *municipium* and enlarged it by installing a colony of veterans there.[9] All the same, *Emporiae* led a desultory life during the High Empire, losing its importance to *Tarraco* with the gradual silting up of its harbour. The invasion in the 3rd century of the Franks and Alemanni, whose passage through Emporiae is attested by the destruction of part of the city wall, accelerated its depopulation, and in the 4th century the ruins of its buildings were converted into the cemetery of a small early Christian basilica.

On the Arab invasion the city was completely abandoned, and its ruins were in due course taken over as a ready quarry for building materials, resulting in its total destruction. Thus the historian Pujades in April 1598 saw part of the wall demolished for use in another building.

In 1951 Almagro brought together a bibliography of the extensive literature then existing on the ruins of Empúries.[10] Later on Trías actualized this bibliography untill 1962.[11]

At present we know of the following Egyptianizing materials, recovered without reasonable doubt in Empúries: fifteen scarabs, one scaraboid, six amulets, and six vessels.[12]

*Bibliography*

Hieronym Puiades, *Coronica Universal del Principat de Cathalunya*, Barcelona, 1609.

Petrus de Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive Limes Hispanicus, Hoc est, Geographica & historica descriptio Cataloniae, Ruscinonis, & circumjacentium populorum*, Parisii, 1688.

Josef Maranjas de Marimon, *Resumen y descripción de la antiquisima Ciudad de Empurias*, Barcelona, 1803.

Joaquim Botet y Sisó, *Data aproximada en que'ls grechs s'establiren á Empories y estat de cultura dels naturals del pais al realisarse aquell establiment*, in *Discursos leidos en la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona en la Recepción Pública de D. Joaquín Botet y Sisó el dia 27 de diciembre de 1908*, pp. 3 ff. and VIII plates, Gerona, 1908.

August Frickenhaus, *Griechische Vasen aus Emporion*, in *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, II, Barcelona, 1908, pp. 195 ff.

[9] Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita*, XXXIV, 3.

[10] Almagro, *Fuentes escritas*.

[11] Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, pp. 27 ff.

[12] I thank Dr. E. Ripoll, my thesis director, for putting at my disposal the material deposited in the Barcelona and Empúries museums, and also his colleagues Dr. E. Sanmartí and Señor M. Llongueras for their help in arranging my study of the pieces. I am also indebted to the late Dr. M. Oliva for allowing me to study the material in Gerona Museum.

Most of the Empúries scarabs remained practically unknown to research workers until 1974. This is the reason why Arribas y Wilkins, *Pyrenae*, 5, p. 209, mentions only one in making a list of scarabs found in the Iberian Peninsula, and why Corominas Villarroya, *Misc. Arqueológica*, I, p. 248, refers to the existence of only two scarabs at Empúries. Cf. Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, p. 113.

Ramón Casellas, *Les troballes esculptòriques a les excavacions d'Empúries*, in *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, III, Barcelona, 1909-10, pp. 281 ff.

Emilio Gandía, *Diario de Excavaciones de Empurias, Año 1914*, unpublished manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca of the Museo Monográfico de Empúries.

Manuel Cazurro y Emilio Gandía, *La estratificación de la cerámica en Ampurias y la época de sus restos*, in *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, V, part I, Barcelona, 1913-14, pp. 657 ff.

P. Bosch Gimpera, J. de C. Serra-Ràfols, *Emporion*, Barcelona, 1929.

P. Bosch Gimpera, *Etnologia de la Península Ibèrica*, Barcelona, 1932.

Luis Pericot García, *Historia de España. I. Epocas Primitiva y Romana*, Barcelona, 1934.

P. Bosch Gimpera, J. de C. Serra-Ràfols, Albert del Castillo, *Emporion*, Barcelona, 1934.

A. García y Bellido, *Espejo etrusco de Ampurias*, in *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, XII, No. XXXV, Madrid, 1936, pp. 191 ff.

Antonio García y Bellido, *Fenicios y carthagineses en España*, in *Sefarad*, II, 1, Madrid, 1942, pp. 3 ff.

Antonio García y Bellido, *Fenicios y carthagineses en España (Conclusión)*, in *Sefarad*, II, 2, Madrid, 1942, pp. 227 ff., Pl. I-XXIV.

Martín Almagro, *Ampurias. Guía de las excavaciones*, Barcelona, 1943.

P. Bosch Gimpera, *El poblamiento antiguo y la formación de los pueblos de España*, México, 1944.

Martín Almagro, *La colección de piedras entalladas del Museo Arqueológico de Barcelona*, in *Memorias de los Museos Arqueológicos Provinciales*, V, 1944, Madrid, 1945, pp. 67 ff.

Miguel Oliva Prat, *La Colección Emporitana del Museo Arqueológico de Gerona*, in *Memorias de los Museos Arqueológicos Provinciales*, V, 1944, Madrid, 1945, pp. 95 ff.

Antonio García y Bellido, *Colonizaciones púnica y griega*, in *Ars Hispaniae. Historia Universal del Arte Hispánico*, I, Madrid, 1947, pp. 135 ff.

Antonio García y Bellido, *Hispania Graeca*, II-Láminas, Barcelona, 1948.

Martín Almagro, *Las fuentes escritas referentes a Ampurias*, Monografías Ampuritanas No. I, Barcelona, 1951.

Antonio García y Bellido, *La colonización griega*, in Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Historia de España*, tomo I, volumen II. *España Protohistórica*, Madrid, 1952, pp. 493 ff.

Martín Almagro, *Las Necrópolis de Ampurias*, I, Monografías Ampuritanas No. III, Barcelona, 1953.

Martín Almagro, *Las Necrópolis de Ampurias*, II, Monografías Ampuritanas No. III, Barcelona, 1955.

Martín Almagro, *Ampurias. Historia de la ciudad y guía de las excavaciones*, Barcelona, 1957.

P. Bosch i Gimpera et J. de C. Serra i Ràfols, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Espagne, Musée Archéologique de Barcelone*. Fascicule 1, Espagne – Fascicule 3, Barcelona, 1951-1957.

François Villard, *La céramique grecque de Marseille (VI^e-IV^e siècle). Essai d'Histoire Économique*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 195, Paris, 1960.

Miquel Tarradell, *Les Arrels de Catalunya*, Biografies Catalanes, Sèrie Històrica, Introducció, Barcelona, 1962.

Gloria Trías de Arribas, *Cerámicas griegas de la Península Ibérica*, I. Texto, Publicaciones de Arqueología Hispánica, II, Serie Primera, Monografías sobre cerámicas hispánicas, 2, Valencia, 1967.

Gloria Trías de Arribas, *Cerámicas griegas de la Península Ibérica*, II, Indices y láminas, Publicaciones de Arqueología Hispánica, II, Serie Primera, Monografías sobre cerámicas hispánicas, 2, Valencia, 1968.

J. Maluquer de Motes, *Los fenicios en Cataluña*, in *Tartessos y sus problemas. V Symposium Internacional de Prehistoria Peninsular. Jerez de la Frontera, Septiembre 1968*, Barcelona, 1969, pp. 241 ff.

E. Ripoll Perelló, *Ampurias. Descripción de las ruinas y Museo Monográfico*, Barcelona, 1969.
A. Arribas y J. Wilkins, *La Necrópolis fenicia del Cortijo de las Sombras (Frigiliana, Málaga)*, in *Pyrenae*, 5, Barcelona, 1969, pp. 185 ff.
Isabel Mª Corominas Villarroya, *Breve estudio sobre las piedras duras talladas y su existencia en Ampurias*, in *Miscelánea Arqueológica, XXV Aniversario de los Cursos Internacionales de Prehistoria y Arqueología en Ampurias (1947-1971)*, Tomo I, Barcelona, 1974, pp. 245 ff.
J. Padró Parcerisa, *Los escarabeos de Empórion*, in *Miscelánea Arqueológica. XXV Aniversario de los Cursos Internacionales de Prehistoria y Arqueología en Ampurias (1947-1971)*, Tomo II, Barcelona, 1974, pp. 113 ff.

**Empúries, No. 07.01** Scarab (Pl. XXXV)

*Material and Colour*: Dark blue glazed composition with remains of gilt painting.

*Measurements*: length 5.1 cm., breadth 3.3 cm., height 2.4 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Gerona Archaeological Museum.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: The Emporitan pieces in the Gerona Museum are in general derived from the large-scale looting of the Necropolis carried on up to the moment when Gandia began the official excavations. Such pieces were on the antiquities market when acquired by the Museum. Though the exact provenance of this scarab is not now known, we do know that the Emporitan necropolis preferred by the clandestine excavators was that of Portitxol.

*Bibliography*: Oliva, *MMAP*, V, p. 103. Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, pp. 113 ff., No. 1, fig. 1.

*Date*: On the evidence of the piece itself, a date between the XXIInd and XXVIth Dynasties can be assigned to it. Its presence in Empúries, however, would in my view make it almost certainly of the XXVIth Dynasty. On the other hand if it could be confirmed that it came from Portitxol, which is far from being proved, the archaeological context would have the same range of time as the intrinsic characters of the piece, since this latter Necropolis is the oldest known from Empúries, with material corresponding to the 6th century.[13]

*Description*: The piece is in good condition though with light fracture lines. Its dorsal scheme corresponds to Newberry and Vercoutter's Type IV. The scarab's legs are worked in deep relief. The reverse is without ornament but has four holes arranged in a rectangle, passing through the base on which the scarab stands and appearing between its legs.

*Parallels*: This is a heart scarab, and thus essentially different not only from other Peninsular scarabs but also from all those of the Western Mediter-

[13] Tarradell, *Arrels*, p. 239.

ranean. In its size too it is unique among Emporitan and Peninsular scarabs. Since it is not a typical export piece, all its parallels must be looked for in Egypt itself.[14] The manufacture of heart scarabs without basal inscription extended from the XVIIIth to the XXXth Dynasties.[15] They were generally made of hard stone and show traces of having been gilded, as is the case with Empúries No. 07.01.[16] However, all the pierced heart-scarabs listed by Petrie are of glazed composition, as for instance his No. 89m (from Saqqara) and No. 89n, both of blue glazed composition with four holes arranged in a lozenge.[17] During the XXIInd Dynasty the manufacture of winged scarabs began, often forming a set with the figurines of the four sons of Horus. The wings may be all of one piece with the scarab or else different pieces. In the second case the scarab alone in no way differs from the unwinged heart scarabs. Thus Petrie's No. 182e,[18] of blue glazed composition with red painting, has six holes, and goes together not only with the wings but with the four sons of Horus; or especially No. 93g, of green glazed composition with violet inlay, which forms a set with its wings, some falcon heads, and the four sons of Horus, and in which the four holes are in the identical position to those of No. 07.01.[19] The holes on these scarabs were provided for sewing them on to the wrappings of the mummy over the breast, together with the other amulets.[20] Heart scarabs may be very large. For instance, No. 52727 of the Cairo Museum, dating from the XXIInd Dynasty, without inscription on the reverse, made of lapis-lazuli, measures $8.2 \times 5.4 \times 1.8$ cm. Vernier refers explicitly to this large size in his published account.[21] It comes from Tell Moqdam, the ancient To-remu (the Leontopolis of the Greeks) in the Delta. Likewise from Tell Moqdam and the XXIInd Dynasty comes another scarab, Cairo No. 52728, of painted gypsum, measuring $8 \times 4.8 \times 1.9$ cm., also without an inscription. This has three holes, two in the head and one in the centre line near the back.[22] The scarabs mentioned by Vernier from the Saite Period have

[14] It is interesting to remark that according to Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 287, the Carthaginians never imported funerary amulets from Egypt, and among the amulets of this type not imported by the Carthaginians he puts the heart scarabs at the head of his list.

[15] Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 23.

[16] Boreux, *Louvre, Guide*, II, p. 331. Confirming the material of which most of the scarabs mentioned by Petrie, *Amulets*, pp. 23 ff. are made.

[17] Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 23, Pl. VII.

[18] Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 40, Pl. XXXII.

[19] Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 25, Pl. XI.

[20] Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 23.

[21] Vernier, *CGC, Bijoux et Orfèvreries*, I et II, pp. 245f., Pl. XCVII.

[22] Vernier, *CGC, Bijoux et Orfèvreries*, I, p. 246.

smaller measurements, like Cairo No. 53776, originally from Saqqara, made of hard green stone, which measures 4.7 × 3.4 cm.[23] Noteworthy too, though Vernier does not give its date, though it must be from the same period, is Cairo No. 53464, found at Tell Ibn es-Salam (the *Mendes* of the Greeks), made of serpentine and measuring 5.8 × 4 × 2.6 cm. The work in this example is extremely delicate.[24]

*Conclusion*: We see, then, that heart scarabs of the dimensions of Empúries No. 07.01 and without decoration on the reverse are met with throughout Lower Egypt during the first millennium up to the Saite Period. It is interesting, on the other hand, that none are listed by Petrie from Naucratis.[25] This accords with the absence of this type of scarab in the Mediterranean area. The manufacture of these pieces was entirely for internal consumption, for sewing on the breast of mummies as has been described above by means of the holes they had if made of glazed composition, or simply placed among the bandages otherwise. Therefore the arrival of this scarab in Emporion is truly exceptional. As for its classification, it is undoubtedly an Egyptian piece.

**Empúries, No. 07.02** Scarab (Pl. XXXVI)

*Material and Colour*: Bright green jasper.

*Measurements*: length 1.3 cm., breadth 1 cm., height 0.7 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Empúries Monographic Museum.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found by Gandia on 17 June 1914, in the course of official excavations, in the interior of a habitation in the north of the *Neapolis*, at a depth of 1.50 m. in a stratum of yellow earth with fragments of Attic red-figure ware and one of black-figure ware.

*Bibliography*: Gandia, *Diario*, p. 27 (with two drawings). Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, pp. 115 f., No. 2, fig. 2,1.

*Date*: This scarab is of 4th-century type;[26] Gandia dated the corresponding stratum likewise to the 4th century by the fragments of Attic red-figure ware.

*Description*: Good state of preservation. Longitudinally pierced. Its dorsal scheme does not correspond to any of the Newberry and Vercoutter

[23] Vernier, *CGC, Bijoux et Orfèvreries*, I, p. 498.

[24] Vernier, *CGC, Bijoux et Orfèvreries*, I, p. 457.

[25] Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, pp. 36 ff.

[26] For the dating of the scarabs found in the tombs of Carthage see Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 62 ff.

classification types, since it has no thorax indicated, and the elytra are separated by a single very crudely traced line. The legs are roughly indicated. On the reverse a Hellenizing design is incised, a horse galloping to the right with bearded rider carrying some object on his shoulder. The design is lifeless and the engraving technique mediocre.

*Parallels*: Scarabs with representations of horsemen are known to us from the Etruscan world, like No. 208 in Zazoff's catalogue;[27] from Carthage, like Vercoutter's Nos. 603 and 604;[28] from Ibiza, like Vives' Nos. 383, 385, and 386;[29] and from Gibraltar, our No. 31.21 corresponding to Culican's No. XXI.[30] None of these exactly corresponds to Empúries No. 07.02. Nor do we know any case of a scarab with the elytra drawn without a thorax. I do not think this fact can have any special significance, being simply due to the crudeness of the piece. All the same, I do wish to draw attention to the piece, and think it worth while, as the type does not exist in Vercoutter's classification, to create a new type, IIIa, to be defined as follows: *Type with elytra indicated without a thorax.*

*Conclusion*: This is a scarab manufactured in the West, perhaps Sardinian, or in any case Pseudoegyptian. Following Culican, we must accept the design as having religious significance. It probably represents a Punic deity who is often represented on horseback and armed with an axe borne on his shoulder.[31]

**Empúries, No. 07.03** Scarab (Pl. XXXVI)

*Material and Colour*: Hard dark green stone with remnants of white painting.

*Measurements*: length 1.55 cm., breadth 1.1 cm., height 0.75 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Barcelona Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 268).

*Circumstances of Discovery*: The circumstances and the dates of discovery of this and the six following scarabs (Nos. 07.04 to 07.09) are unknown. It can only be supposed that they were found later than Empúries No. 07.02, for the sole but hardly decisive reason that Gandia makes no reference to them in connection with the discovery of the *Neapolis* scarab and seems not to know about them. Almagro seems to refer in a very vague way to the existence of this lot of scarabs in the Barcelona Archaeological

[27] Zazoff, *Scarabäen*, p. 111, Pl. 41, 208.
[28] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 227, Pl. XVII.
[29] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, p. 73, Pl. XXVI, 6, 8 and 9. Astruc, *MMA*, XV, p. 117.
[30] Culican, *AJBA*, 1, 5, p. 114, fig. 3, XXI.
[31] Culican, *AJBA*, 1, 5, p. 114.

Museum in the year 1944,[32] so that their discovery must have been earlier, probably considerably earlier, than this date. Without further references we must suppose them to have been either casual finds near the surface or else to have come, like Empúries No. 07.01, by purchase from some collector.[33]

*Bibliography*: Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, pp. 116 ff., No. 3, fig. 2,2.

*Date*: Stylistically the piece seems to be 5th-4th-century.

*Description*: It is in very good condition, despite a light fracture in the lower part. It is longitudinally pierced. The dorsal scheme corresponds to Type V. It is noteworthy that the clypeus is fashioned in a virtually identical way to the clypeus of Empúries No. 07.04. The legs are well marked. On the reverse is an engraved vertical scene, the theme of which is clearly Egyptian and belongs to the Horus myth. The boy Horus (the Harpocrates of the Greeks), on the left facing right, appears seated on the lotus flower, raising in his right hand the whip of the Egyptian kings, and holding his left hand in his mouth in the attitude typical of children in Egyptian representations. On his head there is a hint of a baby's hair tuft and on his forehead the *uraeus*. He wears the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt (the Greek *pschent*). Facing him the winged Isis, her arms stretched out in front of her with a *maât* feather in each hand, makes the protective gesture to her son. Her head is crowned with the sun-disk. At the top of the scene are two vertical parallel lines which seem intended to represent some hieroglyph[34] and at the bottom with the whole scene resting on it the basket sign *nb*. The whole is framed with a borderline. The engraving technique is good, showing some influence of the globular style.

*Parallels*: This scene is situated in the marshy area of Akhbit (the Chemmis of the Greeks) where Isis gave birth to her son Horus and hid him from his uncle Seth, defending him with her great skill from all the perils that threatened him. All this is symbolized by the design on this scarab. The allusions to this part of the myth go back to the *Pyramid Texts*,[35] and the particular love of the Egyptians for this episode explains the great number of representations of Isis and her son in different attitudes. I do not

[32] Almagro, *MMAP*, V, p. 69.

[33] The inventory of the Barcelona Archaeological Museum only gives the description of these pieces and their provenance from Empúries. Nothing is said about the date or exact place of their discovery, which was evidently unknown at the time the different entries were made.

[34] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 116, observes that the two vertical lines appearing on Scarab No. 86 from Carthage may be a distortion of the signs *nṯr nfr*, "good god".

[35] §1214.

know an exact parallel on a scarab for the scene on Empúries No. 07.03 and I must confine myself to giving the nearest. On Ibiza No. 322, in jasper, we see the boy Horus on the lotus flower between the winged figures of Isis and Nephthys making the gesture of protection.[36] On No. 323, also in jasper, the winged Isis makes the gesture of protection over the boy Horus, who is standing.[37] There is a very similar scene on No. 326, also in jasper.[38] Carthage No. 656, in cornelian, is very like Ibiza No. 322 and can be dated to the 4th century,[39] while No. 658, in cornelian, resembles Ibiza No. 323, which can be dated to the 6th century.[40] Worth mentioning also are Nos. 567 and 568, in jasper, and of much inferior quality, dated to the 4th-3rd centuries, and both showing the winged Isis making the gesture of protection before the boy Horus.[41]

*Conclusion*: As we see, the parallels cited come from the Punic world and are probably of non-Egyptian manufacture. In this connection I quote Vercoutter's remark on the jasper scarabs: "Le motif reproduit est souvent égyptisant, dans ce cas ce sont toujours les mêmes scènes qui sont représentées: Bès maîtrisant des lions, Horus-Faucon une uraeus entre les pattes, Isis et Horus, le sphinx."[42] And when he speaks of scarabs in cornelian or other materials he remarks that they show the same characteristics as those in jasper.[43] Thus it is interesting to observe that when the manufacture of scarabs was continued outside Egypt after Egypt itself had ceased to produce them for export, the new craftsmen, alongside the new, Hellenizing themes, kept up the production in small numbers of some of the older Egyptianizing themes. A good deal has been said already about the amuletic value of the scarabs, both the scarab itself and the design on it. Here I should like merely to be more particular about the amuletic value which might be possessed by the design on Empúries No. 07.03. The part played in Egyptian popular religion by magical stelae, especially in the first millennium, is well known. These stelae could be very much reduced in size, so small as to be worn suspended like amulets. Most of them bear the

---

[36] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, p. 68, Pl. XXIV, 3. Astruc, *MMA*, XV, p. 111.

[37] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, p. 68, Pl. XXIV, 4. Astruc, *MMA*, XV, p. 113.

[38] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, p. 68, Pl. XXIV, 7.

[39] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 240, Pl. XVIII.

[40] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 240, Pl. XVIII.

[41] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 218, Pl. XVI.

[42] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 344. Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 34, stated that the theme of Horus on the lotus flower was unknown in Egypt before the Hellenic period, a view which seems to me no longer tenable today. Evidently Scarab No. 07.03 from Empúries and those mentioned like it were made by some non-Egyptian craftsman imitating earlier Egyptian models.

[43] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 345.

representation of Horus-the-child in the Akhbit marshes, with inscriptions explaining how he was bitten by a snake at a moment when his mother had left him alone. When Isis returned and learned what had happened, she began to mourn and weep and her cries were so piercing that they reached the ears of the lord of the gods, who took pity on the mother and her son and sent the magus Thot to cure him. In these texts the patient who has been bitten and uses the stela identifies himself with Horus and is cured like him by the saving deities.[44] It seems to me almost certain that the representations of Isis and Horus in the swamps of Akhbit on scarabs of non-Egyptian manufacture which are so abundant in the Western Mediterranean, especially in the 4th century, are very directly related to the Egyptian magical stelae and that it was very possibly the same miracle which the wearer of one of these scarabs hoped for. On the other hand it seems to me evident that there was a certain relation between the magical effects of these pieces and those produced by the images of the god Bes, who is so abundantly portrayed in the Western Mediterranean world. It should not be forgotten that the god Bes also appears very often as protector of Horus-the-child on the Egyptian magical stelae.[45] Moreover one of his many functions was to cure the victims of the bites and stings of noxious animals, and in countries like those of the Mediterranean where they are so abundant it is easy to understand that such useful amulets and deities would easily spread.[46]

Despite its Egyptian appearance, I am inclined to classify this scarab as Pseudoegyptian.

**Empúries, No. 07.04** Scarab (Pl. XXXVI)

*Material and Colour*: Green jasper.
*Measurements*: length 1.6 cm., breadth 1.15 cm., height 0.9 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Barcelona Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 269).
*Circumstances of Discovery*: See Empúries No. 07.03.

*Bibliography*: Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, pp. 119 f., No. 4, fig. 2,4.

*Date*: Its style places it in the 4th century.

*Description*: It is divided longitudinally into two fragments, and has a longitudinal suspension hole. Its dorsal scheme corresponds to Type IVb.

[44] Vandier, *Religion*, p. 230. Vandier, *Louvre, Guide*, p. 105.
[45] Vandier, *Religion*, p. 230.
[46] Vandier, *Louvre, Guide*, p. 95; on the employment of scarabs in this type of magic, cf. Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 60 f.

As I have already said, the fashioning of the clypeus is like that of Empúries No. 07.03. Legs well marked. On the reverse, in Hellenizing style, there is a personage passing to the left and wearing a curious bonnet with a long brim to the rear. He is armed with a shield and it is difficult to decide whether he is clothed or naked, though perhaps he is wearing a tunic. He has his legs contracted in a running posture. The design is framed with a corded border. The technique of the engraving is rather poor.

*Parallels*: There are a fair number of parallels for this design on scarabs of the Etruscan world. The position of the personage is identical with that of a hoplite depicted on a scarab No. 7 of the Zazoff catalogue,[47] bearded, clothed, and carrying spear, shield, helmet, and cuirass. But the engraving technique of this piece, in cornelian, is much better. Another interesting element is the curious bonnet of the personage on Empúries No. 07.04, comparable to that on Zazoff No. 293, a scarab of sardonyx with transverse lines, on which is depicted a naked man with one knee on the ground and leaning on a staff, wearing a bonnet with a long brim to the rear.[48] In Ibiza too a scarab has been noted depicting a personage with this same headdress.[49] From the Plateau des Cailles (*Département du Drôme*, France) comes an intaglio in globular style representing a personage wearing the same bonnet.[50] In Carthage there are many parallels with the personage of Empúries No. 07.04. The nearest are Nos. 626-628 of Vercoutter's catalogue, all three in jasper.[51] The theme of the warrior is abundant among jasper scarabs, and there are others illustrated by Vercoutter in more or less similar attitudes.

*Conclusion*: This too is a scarab of Western manufacture, probably from Etruria or Sardinia, of a type which was abundant in the 5th-3rd centuries, but especially in the 4th. It is therefore a Pseudoegyptian piece.

**Empúries, No. 07.05** Scarab (Pl. XXXVI)

*Material and Colour*: Onyx veined in different colours.
*Measurements*: length 1.3 cm., breadth 1 cm., height 0.8 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Barcelona Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 271).
*Circumstances of Discovery*: See Empúries No. 07.03.

---

[47] Zazoff, *Scarabäen*, p. 11, Pl. 3, 7.
[48] Zazoff, *Scarabäen*, p. 138, Pl. 54, 293.
[49] Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, p. 72, Pl. XXIII, 20.
[50] Jully, *RAEC*, XII(3), pp. 196 ff., links this curious bonnet with that represented on an Etruscan marble cinerary urn in the Orvieto Museum, which could be an argument in favour of the much disputed Etruscan manufacture of these scarabs.
[51] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 233, Pl. XVII.

*Bibliography*: Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, p. 120, No. 5, fig. 2,7.

*Date*: From its style this must be end of 4th or beginning of 3rd century.

*Description*: In a good state of preservation. Longitudinally pierced for suspension. The dorsal scheme corresponds to Type IVc. The middle of the three lines marking the elytra and thorax consists of a row of points. The legs are marked. The base supporting it has the same decoration as the lines of the elytra. The reverse is Hellenizing, in globular style (the Italian *globolo tondo*). It represents an apparently naked person looking to the right, with head strongly bent, and holding an implement (a sword?) in his hands. The design is framed by a corded border. The engraving of this scarab has a very finished technique.

*Parallels*: The personage seems to be the same as the one depicted on No. 140 of Zazoff's Catalogue, a naked warrior in the same position, grasping with both hands a big sword which he is putting in its sheath. Two loops of strapping emerge from one of his hands. Behind him, in the middle of the design, is a spear. This scarab, according to Zazoff, has the inscription LN↓E (Lnche = Lynkeus). It is of veined sardonyx and its style is even more perfect than that of Empúries No. 07.05.[52]

*Conclusion*: We have here a product of some Etruscan workshop[53] Pseudoegyptian therefore.

**Empúries, No. 07.06** Scarab (Pl. XXXVI)

*Material and Colour*: Red cornelian.

*Measurements*: length 1.3 cm., breadth 1 cm., height 0.65 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Barcelona Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 270).

*Circumstances of Discovery*: See Empúries No. 07.03.

*Bibliography*: Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, p. 120, No. 6, fig. 2,3.

*Date*: End of 4th or beginning of 3rd century.

*Description*: Fractured longitudinally and back much eroded. Longitudinally pierced for suspension. The dorsal scheme corresponds to Type III. The thorax is indicated by a double line and the elytra bordered by several lines. The feet are not marked. On the reverse is a griffin galloping to the

[52] Zazoff, *Scarabäen*, p. 83, Pl. 30, 140. The photograph of this piece is none too good, but I seem to see another sign between the L and the N sign, so that I am not sure about Zazoff's reading.

[53] Zazoff, *Scarabäen*, pp. 118 ff.

right, with bird's head, horse's body, and wings, in globular style. The technique is good.

*Parallels*: The griffin on this scarab is identical with that on Zazoff No. 288, which is also in the so-called globular style, but on the other hand has a different posture.[54] Zazoff No. 296 shows a stag in the same position as the griffin of Empúries No. 07.06 but galloping to the left.[55] It too is in globular style. From Ibiza a scarab, likewise of cornelian, is recorded with an antelope in similar style and posture.[56]

*Conclusion*: Evidently a piece from an Etruscan workshop, and so Pseudoegyptian.

**Empúries, No. 07.07** Scarab (Pl. XXXVII)

*Material and Colour*: White composition with remnants of chestnut colouring.

*Measurements*: length 1.6 cm., breadth 1.35 cm., height 0.95 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Barcelona Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 273).

*Circumstances of Discovery*: See Empúries No. 07.03.

*Bibliography*: Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, p. 121, No. 7, fig. 2,9.

*Date*: 7th-4th centuries.

*Description*: In rather bad condition, with a longitudinal fracture. Longitudinally pierced for suspension. In view of its condition it is difficult to decide whether its dorsal scheme corresponds to Type IV or V. The legs are marked. On the reverse, and fairly well executed, is an antelope galloping to the right and attacked by an animal much defaced but apparently a lion. The relief of the figures shows remnants of chestnut colouring. The scene is bordered by a line.

*Parallels*: The design on the reverse is like that of Carthage Nos. 149 and 150 and the centre of Carthage No. 258,[57] although in these the lion is only jumping on to the antelope's back without having yet reached it, while in Empúries No. 07.07 the lion is already on top of its victim, exactly as in Carthage Nos. 623-625,[58] or Ibiza Nos. 315 and 379,[59] all of jasper. Mention may be made also of the scarab found in the excavations of a

[54] Zazoff, *Scarabäen*, p. 137, Pl. 53, 288.
[55] Zazoff, *Scarabäen*, p. 138, Pl. 54, 296.
[56] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, p. 67, Pl. XXII, 19.
[57] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 131 and 159, Pl. V and VIII.
[58] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 232 f., Pl. XVII.
[59] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, pp. 67 and 72, Pl. XXIII, 1 and XXVI, 2.

deposit at L'Ilette, in Peyriac, No. 04.01, in glazed composition with a similar design on the reverse, although the engraving technique is there more mediocre.[60] This type of scene is known on scarabs from Egypt,[61] Naucratis in particular.[62]

*Conclusion*: As noted by Vercoutter, the motif on this scarab is of Asiatic origin but found also in Egypt.[63] In fact, the parallels cited from Carthage are Egyptian, so Empúries No. 07.07 may be of the same origin. In any case the motif has a long tradition behind it, as the jasper examples show. For all these reasons I hesitate whether to classify it as Egyptian or Pseudoegyptian.

**Empúries, No. 07.08** Scarab (Pl. XXXVII)

*Material and Colour*: Paste of greenish colour.
*Measurements*: length 1.5 cm., breadth 1.2 cm., height 0.8 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Barcelona Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 274).
*Circumstances of Discovery*: See Empúries No. 07.03.

*Bibliography*: Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, p. 121, No. 8, fig. 2,8.

*Date*: 6th-3rd centuries (?).

*Description*: Broken into three pieces with a portion of the edge missing. Longitudinally pierced. Neither thorax nor elytra are marked, so that the dorsal scheme corresponds to Type I. The legs are marked. On the reverse, apparently without inscription, careful examination reveals a recumbent human figure, lying on its right side with the head raised and open arms. The design is almost completely obliterated.

*Parallels*: Vercoutter and Vives list just a few non-Egyptian scarabs of paste from Carthage and Ibiza respectively.[64] On the other hand, the Type I scarabs listed by Vercoutter are of glazed composition and Egyptian,[65] so that Empúries No. 07.08 is an exceptional case of a scarab with Type I dorsal scheme and Hellenizing design.

*Conclusion*: The origin of this piece is unknown to me, though we may suppose that it came from some Western workshop and is a Pseudoegyptian

---

[60] Solier, *BSESA*, LXI, p. 77ff., fig. 2.
[61] Newberry, *CGC*, *Scarab-shaped seals*, Pl. VII, Cairo Museum No. 36456, dated to the XXVIth Dynasty.
[62] Gardner, *Naukratis*, II, Pl. XVIII, 7.
[63] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 131.
[64] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 173 ff. Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, pp. 107f.
[65] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 71.

scarab. It is also possible, however, to suppose from its technique that it is a scarab of Egyptian manufacture, but designed on Western models for export.

**Empúries, No. 07.09** Scarab

*Material and Colour*: Cornelian.
*Measurements*: length 1.5 cm., breadth 1 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: This scarab is entered in the Inventory of the Barcelona Archaeological Museum together with the six previous ones but is not exhibited with them. Consequently it must be given as lost.
*Circumstances of Discovery*: See Empúries No. 07.03.

*Bibliography*: Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, pp. 121 f., No. 9.

*Date*: 4th century (?).
*Description*: Has one longitudinal suspension hole. On the reverse is an engraved design of a scorpion.[66]
*Parallels*: Representations of scorpions are relatively frequent on scarabs from Carthage.[67] In Ibiza there is a jasper scarab with an engraved design of a winged scorpion with human arms and head, in an attitude of prayer and crowned with the sun-disk and the horns of Hathor. Vives mentions a Sardinian parallel for this piece.[68]
*Conclusion*: Without having seen it, we may suppose it to have been probably a product of some Western workshop, Etruscan or Sardinian. The scorpion motif would have the same prophylactic significance as those we have mentioned above, in this case to prevent or cure the bites of scorpions. Thus the piece must be Pseudoegyptian.

**Empúries, No. 07.10** Scarab (Pl. XXXVII)

*Material and Colour*: Dark grey glazed composition.
*Measurements*: length 0.9 cm., breadth 0.6 cm., height 0.4 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Empúries Monographic Museum.
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Unknown.

*Bibliography*: Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, p. 122, No. 10, fig. 2,6.

[66] The material, measurements, and description are taken from the Inventory of the Barcelona Archaeological Museum.
[67] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 236.
[68] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, p. 69, Pl. XXIV, 21.

*Date*: 7th-6th centuries.

*Description*: Has a lateral suspension hole. The wings on the back are decorated with vertical lines. It is consequently difficult to decide whether the dorsal scheme corresponds to Type III or Type IV. The reverse has no inscription. This is the smallest of the Empúries scarabs.

*Parallels*: Scarabs without inscription and this type of decoration on the wings are relatively frequent in Carthage and in Egypt itself.[69] No. 662 in Vives' catalogue, from Ibiza, has no inscription and its reverse is provided with a suspension tag.[70]

*Conclusion*: This is a scarab manufactured in Egypt.

**Empúries, No. 07.11** Scarab (Pls XXXVII and XXXVIII)

*Material and Colour*: Dark Red Cornelian.

*Measurements*: length 1.4 cm., breadth 1 cm., height 0.6 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Barcelona Archaeological Museum.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Appeared in Inhumation Tomb No. 15 in the Martí Necropolis, excavated in the years 1946-50. The scarab went with a fine bronze ring. This Tomb was excavated to a depth of 1 m. The remains lay in a stone chest, made without mortar, in the form of a parallelogram and covered with large stones, all irregular. The skeleton had its head to the south-east. Possibly it was a boy, since the tomb was only 1 m. long. Besides the scarab with its ring (No. 1) the furniture consisted of:

A *scaltorium* of two pieces joined by two rings, one of the pieces forming a tiny spoon, the other a little fork with two tines. Undoubtedly they were for cleaning the ears and nails. Both were 7.5 cm. long (No. 2).

A simple bronze fibula of La Tène I type, 3.5 cm. long (No. 3).

A lozenge-shaped bronze eyelet, detached, 1.5 cm. long (No. 4).

Three fine bronze platelets, undoubtedly from a panel, 3 cm. long (No. 5).

Three necklace beads, one of yellow composition, 1 cm., another square, of reddish amber, 1.2 cm., a third hemispherical, of dark composition, 1.5 cm. (Nos. 6-8).

Twenty six knucklebones, some cut longitudinally and pierced through the centre, sometimes in two directions, perhaps for making a necklace, at least those which are pierced (No. 9).

A lekythion of aryballos type, 7.5 cm. high; the outside of the mouth and handle with *vernis noir*; vertical parallel lines on the neck; on the

---

[69] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 175, Pl. X. Petrie, *Amulets*, Pl. VII and XI.

[70] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, p. 108.

outside of the foot, shorter vertical strokes; the body cross-hatched: Apulian manufacture, dated to the first half of the 4th century (No. 10).[71]

A cockle shell (No. 11).

The Necropolis is regarded as Greek and was made known by Almagro in 1953.[72]

Bibliography: Almagro, *Necrópolis*, I, pp. 43, 52 f., fig. 15, Pl. XIII, 19. Solier, *BSESA*, LXI, pp. 77 f. Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, pp. 122 f., No. 11, fig. 2,5.

*Date*: Almagro and Trías agree in dating the lekythion found in the tomb, and consequently the tomb itself, between the years 400 and 350. As for the actual scarab, Almagro thinks it must be older, and thus considers it a piece of Egyptian manufacture. But this interpretation is completely mistaken. The design on the scarab is typically Hellenizing and its date cannot be earlier than the beginning of the 4th century, so that the dating of the scarab and that of its archaeological context are in perfect agreement.[73]

*Description*: Longitudinally pierced, but broken at the two extremes of the perforation. The engraving technique is very good. The back, very well finished, corresponds to Type VI, with a V on each wing and another at the point where the lines of wings and thorax meet. The thorax is separated from the wings by a notched line. The legs are marked. On the reverse, the Hellenizing design, well fashioned and with some influences of the globular style in the engraving, shows a personage on foot and facing left, bearded and naked, though wearing a hat and a sort of cape over the shoulders, holding a palm tree in his right hand. At his feet a lion reclining, with some kind of gazelle running before him. The whole is framed with a corded borderline and apparently does not form a scenic composition.[74] Probably a representation of Heracles.

*Parallels*: The personage of Empúries No. 07.11 seems to be the same as that on Carthage No. 672,[75] although he is looking to the right and standing alone. Also, judging from what remains of No. 602, the identity of the two personages seems to be borne out by other indications. The latter

[71] Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I-II, pp. 51 f., Pl. XIII, 4.

[72] Almagro, *Necrópolis*, I, pp. 50f., from which I have taken the description of the tomb and its furniture.

[73] Almagro, *Necrópolis*, I, pp. 43, 52 f. Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, pp. 51 f. Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, pp. 122f.

[74] After seeing the piece, so evidently Hellenizing, it is difficult to understand the reasons for the mistake made by Almagro, *Necrópolis*, I, pp. 52 f., in describing and interpreting it as Egyptian.

[75] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 244, Pl. XIX.

personage also has a small animal in front of him.[76] Representations of Heracles wrestling with a lion are numerous on scarabs from Carthage.[77] The theme is known also from Ibiza.[78] I have not, however, found any parallel for the personage on foot above the lion, which is more reminiscent of the designs on Egyptian magical stelae called "Horus over the crocodiles", or else the representations of certain Asiatic deities on Egyptian stelae, like the goddess Qadesh, who does in fact stand, precisely, above a lion.[79]

*Conclusion*: All the scarabs of Type VI met with by Vercoutter in Carthage are Egyptian, or at the very least have an Egyptianizing representation, and all except one are of glazed composition. Empúries No. 07.11 is thus a very rare case of a scarab from an Etruscan workshop (influences of the globular style), with a Hellenizing design, and the back of Type VI. This scarab therefore permits us to deny Vercoutter's concluding statement that the non-Egyptian imitators who manufactured scarabs never employed Type VI.[80] Finally then, we must classify this piece as Pseudoegyptian.

**Empúries, No. 07.12** Scarab (Pls XXXVII and XXXIX).

*Material and Colour*: White glazed composition.

*Measurements*: length 3.2 cm., breadth 2.4 cm., height 1.3 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Empúries Monographic Museum.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found in Cremation No. 11 of the North-East Wall Necropolis. This Necropolis, regarded as native, was excavated between 1952 and 1954. The burial was uncovered in a natural rock cavity in the middle of the cement-work of the North-East Wall, which dates from the Roman period. The furniture, besides the scarab (No. 1), consisted of:

A raised-catch fibula of bronze, with simple spring, measuring 3.7 cm. long (No. 2).

A small bronze ring, measuring 1.5 cm. in diameter, joined to two other bronze rings of smaller diameter (No. 3).

A bronze ring measuring 1.2 cm. in diameter with a bezel in the form of a ball, of a type frequent in this Necropolis (No. 4).

A pair of bronze toilet tweezers with flat arms, 5.8 cm. long (No. 5).

Fragments of a bronze object recalling a signet ring, though it cannot be

---

[76] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 227, Pl. XVII.

[77] Vercoutter himself refers to the difficulty of identifying Heracles or Bes in some of these representations: Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 88, 213, 230, and 252.

[78] Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, p. 72, Pl. XXIII, 15.

[79] Cf. e.g. Edwards, James and Shore, *Egyptian Collections*, p. 120.

[80] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 74.

that in view of its dimensions, 2,5 cm. in diameter (No. 6): possibly a bracket.

A bronze fragment of unknown function, with a groove or channel round the body, measuring 2.2 cm. long (No. 7).

Front part of a bronze belt plate of Iberian type, with lateral projecting struts and two fragmentary hooks. The very advanced oxidation does not allow us to say what decoration, if any, the piece had. It measures 6.2 cm. long by 6 cm. high (No. 8).

A bronze ring, to which are joined a chain and two pendants, with a bezel in form of a ball, measuring 3.5 cm. in diameter (No. 9).

A bronze fragment which from its dimensions, 7,5 cm. long, seems to have been a small cooking pot (No. 10).

A bronze strigil, fragmentary, but of a type known from other Emporion burials, measuring 12 cm. long (No. 11).

Fragments of a flat bronze plate, of uncertain use, though it may possibly have formed part of a strigil like that described above, measuring 4.5 cm. long (No. 12).

An iron knife, with the blade slightly curved and thick at the back, giving it a strongly triangular section. It still has its flat handle, lozenge-shaped in section, though the hilt pieces have been lost, leaving the fragmentary bronze tang with the rivets which attached the hilt-pieces to it. The knife is 18 cm. long (No. 13).

A hand-made cinerary urn, of dark clay, the surface worked with the spatula, flat-bottomed and biconical in outline, with four handles arranged in pairs, measuring 24 cm. high (No. 14).

The lid of the urn, with a flange to attach it more firmly, of composition identical with that of the urn, measuring 6.8 cm. high (No. 15).

Two small flasks with oval body and neck slightly curved, giving them an S-shaped outline typical of the later urn-fields, hand-made of light brown composition, rather more clarified than that of analogous vessels found in other tombs of this Necropolis, without decoration, measuring respectively 8.5 and 8.4 cm. high (Nos. 16 and 17).

A hemispherical conoid bowl of blackish composition hand-made but well fired, with a small perforated bubble handle and a flat bottom, measuring 5 cm. high by 10 cm. in diameter (No. 18).

A similar bowl but with a concave base and no handle, measuring 5 cm. by 11 cm. (No. 19).

An account of this tomb, as of those in the rest of the North-East Wall Necropolis, was published by Almagro in 1955.[81]

[81] Almagro, *Necrópolis*, II, pp. 389 ff., with the furniture description.

*Bibliography*: Almagro, *Necrópolis*, II, pp. 362 ff., Pl. XVI, 13. Solier, *BSESA*, LXI, p. 78. Arribas y Wilkins, *Pyrenae*, 5, p. 208. Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, pp. 123 f., No. 12, fig. 3.

*Date*: Almagro dates the tomb to the end of the 6th century, about 500 B.C. Independently of the scarab, which is 6th-century, the tomb is dated in this century by the belt plate, the bronze pendant in the form of a ball, such as have been found also in the necropolises at the mouth of the Ebro, and the fibula.

*Description*: This scarab is very well preserved apart from some slight cracks in the composition. It is longitudinally pierced. The form of the back corresponds to Type VI. The legs are marked. On the reverse is depicted a winged sphinx with a falcon's head, crowned with the *pschent*, moving to the right, and facing it a man on foot. Below this scene is the *nb* sign.

*Parallels*: The theme of the winged sphinx with falcon's head crowned with the *pschent* is known on Egyptian scarabs[82] and is documented particularly at Naucratis.[83] On the other hand, in one example from that deposit a personage resembling the one on our scarab accompanies a seated winged sphinx, though placed behind her.[84] On scarab No. 122 from Carthage is a standing sphinx crowned with the *pschent*, facing a seated god. According to Vercoutter, this scene symbolizes the Pharaoh adoring the deity.[85] This sphinx is not winged, but that on Scarab No. 123 is. This last is wearing the blue crown and holds the Horus falcon before him. We have a parallel for the personage of Empúries No. 07.12 in Carthage No. 131, where there is a similar personage behind a seated winged sphinx.[86] On the other hand the exceptional measurements of this magnificent scarab link it closely with the scaraboid of Tossal del Moro de Pinyeres,[87] No. 12.01, also of Egyptian manufacture and still larger dimensions, which has the winged sphinx with falcon's head but seated on its hindquarters with wings outspread, a most unusual detail. Scaraboid No. 09.11, from Can Canyís, likewise depicts a winged sphinx with falcon's head.

*Conclusion*: Empúries No. 07.12 is undoubtedly an Egyptian scarab, manufactured perhaps in Naucratis, on which the Pharaoh is represented, symbolized by a sphinx, in adoration before a deity who cannot be identified for want of attributes. The type of the winged sphinx, with lion's body

---

[82] Newberry, *CGC.*, *Scarab-shaped Seals*, Pl. VII, Cairo Museum No. 36985.
[83] Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, Pl. XXXVII, 132, 133.
[84] Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, Pl. XXXVII, 23.
[85] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 124, Pl. IV.
[86] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 126, Pl. IV.
[87] Maluquer, *Strenae*, pp. 343 ff.

and falcon's head, deserves a fuller discussion. Though at this period its symbolism was undoubtedly royal, this was not the case in earlier ages. A fantastic animal with falcon's head and winged lion's body, called *seref*, is attested in Beni Hassan and El-Bersha from the Middle Kingdom,[88] and its prototype already existed in prehistoric times, on the Djebel Tarif knife, for instance, and the palette of Hieraconpolis. Its significance at this early time is unknown, though it appears that its iconography was borrowed by the Egyptians from Asia and that it must have been an animal endowed with special magic powers. However that may be, the scarab we are considering is evidence enough that the strange animal at this later time symbolized the king, for it is crowned with the *pschent*. The step to this identification was no doubt taken because the ancient *seref* combined two animals which were also identified with the Pharaoh, the falcon Horus and the Egyptian sphinx of traditional iconography, with the addition of the falcon's wings. This last point is confirmed by the fact that falcon-headed sphinxes are almost always winged on scarabs and scaraboids of this period,[89] whereas sphinxes with human heads may have wings or not, indifferently. I observe finally that this fabulous being with lion's body and falcon's head and wings is the forerunner of the griffin of classical iconography.[90]

**Empúries, No. 07.13** Scarab

*Material and Colour*: Very dark green stone (?)[91]
*Measurements*: (?)
*Place of Keeping*: Gerona Archaeological Museum (?)[92]

---

[88] Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, pp. 804 f., fig. 452, 1.

[89] In Carthage, for instance, we can only quote two or three cases of unwinged sphinxes with falcon's head. The other cases, few as they are, quoted by Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 385, are either late, that is to say Pseudoegyptian, or doubtful, if not wrong.

[90] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 60, adopts Petrie's view that the winged sphinx appears only from the XXVth Dynasty onward, precisely under Semitic influence. Perhaps it is true that the animal *seref* is not to be regarded as a sphinx, which exclusively represents the king while the *seref* does not. In any case it is clear that the iconography of the winged falcon-headed sphinx was known in Egypt long before the XXVth Dynasty and must therefore have had some kinship with the animal *seref*.

[91] All the data we have on this piece, as on the three following, are the scanty references by Botet, *Data aproximada*, pp. 38 f. and 62. These references are particularly wanting in precision when it comes to the description of the pieces. Hence my frequent question marks.

[92] This at least was where Botet saw the scarab and where it must have been in 1908. But in our own time the later director of the Museum, Dr. Oliva, knew nothing of its whereabouts or of that of the following pieces.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Unknown. Comes from the old Emporitan collection in the Gerona Museum, formed before the beginning of official excavations by the Committee of Barcelona Museums in Empúries.

*Bibliography*: Botet, *Data aproximada*, pp. 38 f., 62. Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, p. 124, n. 59.

*Date*: (?)

*Description*: The only thing that Botet says of this piece is that it has carvings in Egyptian style on its flat surface, and that the convex side has the form of a beetle.[93]

*Parallels*: As may be supposed, it is impossible to say anything under this head.

*Conclusion*: We cannot be sure whether the material is jasper or green glazed composition. Consequently we do not know if it is an Egyptian or a Pseudoegyptian scarab of Western manufacture, nor whether it dates from the 7th-6th centuries or the 4th-3rd.

**Empúries, No. 07.14** Scarab (?)[94]

*Material and Colour*: Very dark green stone (?).[95]
*Measurements*: (?)
*Place of Keeping*: Gerona Archaeological Museum (?).[96]
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Unknown.[97]

*Bibliography*: Botet, *Data aproximada*, pp. 38 f., 62. Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, p. 124, n. 59.

*Date*: (?)

*Description*: Only one fragment of this piece has been preserved, and we can only guess that it was in fact a scarab.[98] According to Botet, it had on its flat surface carvings of Egyptian style.[99]

---

[93] Botet, *Data aproximada*, p. 39.

[94] We may suppose it to have been a scarab simply because Botet, *Data aproximada*, p. 62, refers in the plural to the "beetles" preserved in the Gerona Museum and, as we shall see, Botet himself, *Data aproximada*, p. 39, describes the other piece in this Museum, my No. 07.16, not as a beetle but as a negro's head. Therefore the only two scarabs in the Gerona Museum must have been my Nos. 07.13 and 07.14.

[95] On my doubts concerning the description of these scarabs, cf. No. 07.13, n. 91.

[96] On its location, cf. No. 07.13, n. 92.

[97] Cf. No. 07.13.

[98] See n. 94.

[99] Botet, *Data aproximada*, pp. 38 f.

*Parallels*: Nothing can be said on this score.
*Conclusion*: Cf. remarks on No. 07.13.

**Empúries, No. 07.15** Scarab

*Material and Colour*: Greenish-blue stone or glazed composition.[100]
*Measurements*: (?)
*Place of Keeping*: (?)[101]
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found in 1908 in course of the excavations which the Committee of Museums of Barcelona had just begun in Empúries.[102]

*Bibliography*: Botet, *Data aproximada*, pp. 39, 62. Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, p. 124, n. 59.

*Date*: (?)
*Description*: Botet confines himself to the statement that it is Egyptian in style, like those that he himself has noted in the Gerona Museum.
*Parallels*: —.
*Conclusion*: Possibly this could be one of the scarabs at present in the Barcelona and Empúries Museums of which we do not know how and when they were discovered. Moreover it is impossible to say whether it is an Egyptian or Pseudoegyptian piece.

**Empúries, No. 07.16** Scaraboid

*Material and Colour*: Very dark green stone or glazed composition.[103]
*Measurements*: (?)
*Place of Keeping*: Gerona Archaeological Museum (?).[104]
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Unknown.[105]

*Bibliography*: Botet, *Data aproximada*, pp. 38 f. Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, p. 124, n. 59.

---

[100] According to the description in Botet, *Data aproximada*, p. 62.
[101] It cannot be ruled out that this is one of the scarabs already described, found in unknown circumstances and now in the Barcelona and Empúries Museums.
[102] According to the evidence of Botet, *Data aproximada*, p. 62.
[103] Botet, *Data aproximada*, pp. 38 f. describes it as stone. All the same, I doubt his verdict because scaraboids of this type representing a negro's head, which were a typical Naucratis product, were usually made of glazed composition. Cf. Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, p. 124, n. 59.
[104] On its location cf. No. 07.13, n. 92.
[105] Cf. on No. 07.13.

*Date*: Judging from its description, may be dated to the 7th-6th centuries.

*Description*: According to Botet, the convex part represented a negro's head; on its flat surface were carvings in Egyptian style.

*Parallels*: Scaraboids of this type, designated generically as "heads", are well documented in Egypt, especially at Naucratis.[106] They are also known in abundance from Carthage.[107] In the Peninsula we can cite one example collected at Ribatejo.

*Conclusion*: These scaraboids were manufactured at Naucratis, as is proved by the moulds found in the scarab centre in that deposit.[108] Thus the Empúries scaraboid is an Egyptian object.

**Empúries, No. 07.17** Amulet (Pl. XL)

*Material and Colour*: Greenish glazed composition.

*Measurements*: height 4.4 cm., thickness 0.8 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Gerona Archaeological Museum.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found in some Emporitan tomb, probably the Portitxol Necropolis, before 1908, when the piece must already have been present in the Gerona Museum.[109] It is possible that it was found by the Forestry Service.

*Bibliograpy*: Botet, *Data aproximada*, p. 38, Pl. VII, 5. García y Bellido, *Sefarad*, II, 2, p. 290, Pl. XXIV, 2. Oliva, *MMAP*, V, p. 103.

*Date*: Although the Portitxol Necropolis has yielded the earliest objects known from Empúries, it is also a fact that this Necropolis continued in use up to the early Christian era.[110] Amulets of this type, as we shall see in other well-dated examples from the Peninsula, are characteristic of the 4th century. So we may suppose that this piece comes from some Portitxol tomb of this date.

*Description*: Falcon-headed Horus standing erect. Despite some surface erosion, the features of the figurine can be discerned with adequate detail. Thus it can be described as in a good state of preservation without a fracture. The god stands on a small base and the whole figure is supported by a back pillar, which is transversely pierced at the level of the forearms for

[106] Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, Pl. XXXVII, 9, 11, 26, 65, 83, 100, 133, 141f., 145. Gardner, *Naukratis*, II, Pl. XVIII, 59 f.

[107] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 195 ff., Pl. XIII, 450 ff.

[108] Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, Pl. XXXVIII, 9 ff. of lower half. Cf. Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 195.

[109] Botet, *Data aproximada*, p. 38.

[110] García y Bellido, *Hisp. Graeca*, II, p. 43.

the purpose of suspending the amulet. The god is wearing a strange headdress, consisting of an elongated rectangular prism, fluted on both sides, from which emerges a sort of three-pointed crest which could be a distortion of the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. The figure of the god is very hieratic and his features very stylized. The falcon's head is perfectly discernible. The arms, completely rigid, adhere to the body throughout their length. About his waist is a softly pleated kilt reaching to the knees. The god is walking, with his left leg forward.

*Parallels*: The prototype of this kind of amulet with the falcon-headed Horus on foot are found in Egypt. Petrie dates them between the XVIIIth Dynasty and the Roman Period.[111] However, these Egyptian amulets, which could be manufactured of different materials, are generally much more stylized and fashioned with much greater perfection of detail than their Western counterparts,[112] at least up to the Saite Period. After the XXVIth Dynasty on the other hand, the workmanship of amulets manufactured in Egypt progressively deteriorates, becoming as bad, Vercoutter emphasizes, as those appearing in Carthage.[113] Here this particular amulet was very abundant,[114] as it was also in the central Mediterranean islands under Punic occupation. I need only mention the great number of these amulets which have appeared in the Tharros Necropolis, in Sardinia.[115] It cannot be said that these amulets are particularly abundant in the Iberian Peninsula. But they are widespread on the Mediterranean littoral, examples being known from Villaricos, Cabecico del Tesoro, Cigarralejo, Albufereta d'Alacant, Tossal de Manises, La Bastida de les Alcuses, and Empúries (the numbers following this in the present catalogue). In Ibiza on the other hand the number of finds is quite considerable,[116] on the same scale as those in Sardinia and Carthage.

*Conclusion*: The place of manufacture of these amulets has been disputed at length by different writers. Their bad quality has been used as an argument against their being Egyptian, and in favour of a Phoenician or Western place of manufacture, in imitation of ancient Egyptian models.[117] Vercoutter, however, opposed this view for fairly solid reasons. In the 4th century amulets undeniably Egyptian both in technique and workmanship continue

---

[111] Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 39.
[112] Cf. e.g. Petrie, *Amulets*, Pl. XLV, 180 f.
[113] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 283.
[114] Cintas, *Amulettes*, p. 84, Pl. XVII, 111 and 117.
[115] Taramelli, Lavagnino, *Museo di Sassari*, p. 38.
[116] Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, p. 101, No. 603, Pl. XXXVI, 34-40.
[117] Cintas, *Amulettes*, pp. 82 and 115.

to appear in Carthage. In Egypt itself the quality of small amulets is very mediocre in this period, as I have already noted above. Finally there is no formal evidence that the glazed composition technique was known outside Egypt.[118] Quite the contrary, in the 4th century, to procure the scarabs they no longer received from Egypt, the Phoenician and Punic suppliers had to manufacture them from green jasper, in imitation of glazed composition. This seems to show that their craftsmen did not possess this technique. For all these reasons, I am inclined on principle to consider these amulets of the 4th century with representations of deities as manufactured in Egypt, and thus as authentically Egyptian pieces. All the same, some doubts cannot be avoided. Vives mentions the discovery on "Carthaginian territory", but without any more precise indication, of a mould for the manufacture of amulets of udjat type.[119] Moreover, Phoenician and Punic craftsmen in the 4th century knew the technique of glass-making, so that it is not altogether logical that they should have been ignorant of how to make glazed composition. The distortions (not mere stylizations) of the divine attributes in these amulets seem rather unlikely to have occurred in Egypt itself, where such attributes and their meaning were exactly known. There is, for instance, the double crown of Horus, as I have described it in the piece under consideration, where it is reduced to a mere crest; or the seated figures of Isis, lacking as we shall see the child Horus in her lap. All this, together with the very abundance of these amulets in the West, obliges me to reserve judgement for the present. Without any doubt there must be amulets of Egyptian manufacture. But it is also possible that there may be some of Phoenician or Punic manufacture. The distinction between one or other must be a matter of subjective judgement, and therefore questionable, in the present state of our knowledge. I shall confine myself in advance, therefore, to considering pieces of this type as Egyptian, but with reserves, in the hope that the future will enable us to decide in a convincing way whether or not the glazed composition technique was known outside Egypt in the 4th century.

**Empúries, No. 07.18** Amulet (Pl. XL)

*Material and Colour*: Greenish glazed composition.
*Measurements*: height 2.5 cm., width 0.5 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Gerona Archaeological Museum.

---

[118] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 283 f.
[119] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, p. 100.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found in some Emporitan tomb, probably in the Portitxol Necropolis, before 1908, possibly excavated by the Forestry Service.[120]

*Bibliography*: Botet, *Data aproximada*, p. 38, Pl. VII, 4. García y Bellido, *Sefarad*, II, 2, p. 290, Pl. XXIV, 2. Oliva, *MMAP*, V, p. 103.

*Date*: The piece may be dated to the 4th century, and probably comes from a tomb of this century in the Portitxol Necropolis. Cf. remarks on No. 07.17, and the dating of No. 07.19, very similar to this.

*Description*: Seated deity, hard to identify for lack of specific attributes, but probably Isis. The goddess is seated on a cross-hatched throne resting on a small base. She wears a strange headdress like a crest, which may be a degeneration of the hieroglyphic sign borne by the goddess as a distinctive iconographic element in better-quality representations, and was nothing else but the throne sign which served to write her name. Although the amulet is well preserved, all its features are very schematized and clumsy, making them difficult to distinguish. The goddess's body is modelled with great crudity, making it difficult to decide whether she is resting her hands, with arms folded, on her knees or on her breast. In either case, there is nothing to indicate the presence of the child Horus on her lap, as would normally be expected, though this may be simply due to the simplicity of the amulet and the technical difficulty of incorporating such an element in it. The amulet is transversely pierced through the rear part of the body, behind the forearms and almost at shoulder level.

*Parallels*: Amulets representing seated goddesses are extremely abundant in Egypt – Isis, Mut, and others.[121] In the West, their presence can be recorded in Ibiza, some of Isis with Horus in her lap, others without him. Some pieces bear, very distinctly, the hieroglyphic sign of the goddess's name above her head.[122] In Carthage, Cintas mentions that Isis amulets bear a "stepped" crown.[123] On the other hand, there are very few finds so far of this type of amulet in the Peninsula, where it is notably less abundant than those with the Horus image. One that may be mentioned is the very similar piece, likewise from Empúries, No. 07.19.

*Conclusion*: The piece is possibly of Egyptian manufacture.

---

[120] Botet, *Data aproximada*, p. 38.

[121] Petrie, *Amulets*, Pl. XXVI, 148; XXX, 173 b; XLV, 164 d.

[122] Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, pp. 100 f., Nos. 600 ff., Pl. XXXVII, 35-41.

[123] Cintas, *Amulettes*, p. 84, Pl. XVII, 104 (representation of Isis crowned with a disc between two horns). Cf. also Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 267 and 274.

**Empúries, No. 07.19** Amulet (Pl. XLI)

*Material and Colour*: Fine glazed composition.

*Measurements*: height 3 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Lost.[124]

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found in the excavation of the Martí Necropolis, in Inhumation Tomb No. 112, which was uncovered at a depth of 1.90 m. The corpse, that of an infant with its head to the east, was deposited in a receptacle cut out of the natural rock, which in the country is known as "cervell de gat" (cat's brains), and covered at the sides with a mixture of earth and a few stones to protect it. The remains were 0.80 m. long. The tomb had been robbed but the following grave-goods could still be recovered:

Remnants of a bronze ring, open, decorated with transverse incisions, largest diameter 2.2 cm. (No. 1).

A bronze arm-band, circular, with the ends unjoined and very elliptical cross-section, measuring 6 cm. in diameter (No. 2).

Nine iron nails, square with round heads, and fragments of others, measuring 4-9 cm. long (Nos. 3-11).

A composition necklace bead, spherical in form, polychrome, with small blue dots over white circles on a pale greenish ground, measuring 1.6 cm. in diameter (No. 12).

Two composition necklace beads, of flattened spherical shape and smaller size than the preceding, polychrome, measuring respectively 1 and 1.2 cm. in diameter (Nos. 13 and 14).

Three small composition amulets, almost identical, representing a seated bird with an eyelet at the back for suspension or threading as necklace pieces, measuring 1.3 cm. high (Nos. 15-17).

The anthropomorphic amulet we are considering here (No. 18).

Another amulet of very fine clay, indeterminate, 0.9 cm. (No. 19).

A piece of animal tooth, highly polished, impossible to classify (No. 20).

A complete lekythion of aryballos type, preserved entire but without traces of the burnish or decoration it may once have had, measuring 8.5 cm. high (No. 21).

The arm-band was found at the head of the corpse and the other objects in its left hand. The account of the tomb was published by Almagro in 1953.[125]

[124] The furniture of this tomb is on public display in the Empúries Monographic Museum but this very piece is now missing from it and the enquiries of Dr. Sanmartí failed to throw up any trace of it.

[125] Almagro, *Necrópolis*, I, pp. 102 ff., from which I have taken the description of the furniture.

*Bibliography*: Almagro, *Necrópolis*, I, pp. 43 and 103, Pl. XIII, 13.

*Date*: In Almagro's opinion the lekythion may be dated by its type to the end of the 4th century, and this agrees with the amulet.

*Description*: Seated Egyptian deity, very difficult to make out in detail owing to its being much eroded, but apparently a female deity, very possibly Isis. However, neither from the small photograph nor from the drawings published by Almagro is it possible to make out a boy Horus on her lap. The figure rests on a small base and has a back-pillar, the back of the throne, in which a suspension hole has been pierced. The deity had a crown or other headdress on her head, completely indistinct in Almagro's photograph but which from his sketch can be identified as the throne sign which was used to write the name of Isis and was worn by the goddess as her distinctive feature.

*Parallels*: This amulet is very similar to another Emporitan piece, No. 07.18. Cf. the parallels quoted for it.

*Conclusion*: A piece probably of Egyptian manufacture.

**Empúries, No. 07.20** Amulet (Pl. XLII)

*Material and Colour*: Blue translucent composition.

*Measurements*: length 2.9 cm., height 1.9 cm., width 0.4 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Barcelona Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 286).

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Unknown; this amulet forms part of the batch of Egyptian and Pseudoegyptian pieces which includes the Empúries scarabs, Nos. 07.03 to 07.09; in particular, cf. remarks on No. 07.03. Their existence was brought to notice by myself, though in an incidental way.[126]

*Bibliography*: Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, p. 116.

*Date*: The technique of this amulet makes it undoubtedly an Egyptian product, easily dated to the 6th century.

*Description*: Udjat eye cut to shape externally, with a longitudinal suspension hole. It is smooth on the reverse. The lines of the obverse are marked in light relief. The centre of the eye is black and the external lines reddish. It is lightly fractured in front. The technique of this little amulet is excellent. Its translucency is due to its thinness.

---

[126] Padró, *Misc. Arqueológica*, II, p. 116.

*Parallels*: The udjat eye was one of the most popular amulets of Egypt and was very widely diffused.[127] According to Petrie its first appearance must be assigned to the VIth Dynasty, and it lasted till the Ptolemaic period.[128] Vercoutter declares it to be the most frequent of all the amulets.[129] In Carthage likewise the udjat eye is much the most frequent among the amulets, whether inscribed in a square or cut out along the outline of the eye.[130] Examples can be cited also from Sardinia, Tharros for instance.[131] It is also found in Ibiza.[132] In the Peninsula, on the other hand, they are at present extremely scarce, the only other examples I can quote being from Villaricos[133] and Gibraltar.[134]

*Conclusion*: The udjat eye, "the unharmed eye of Horus", represents either of the two eyes of Horus, god of the sky, which are to be identified with the Sun and the Moon. In the course of a fight Seth plucked out Horus's eye, but Thot healed the eye and returned it to its owner, who vanquished his enemy Seth. The magical power of the eye of Horus was immense, which explains its popularity from very early times in Egypt.[135] Vercoutter, quoting Boreux, refers to the fact that the udjat amulet was used in Egypt especially by the living, being very rare in the tombs.[136] Petrie, however, quoted several passages from the *Book of the Dead* invoking the udjat eye.[137] And in the plans he published showing the position of the amulets on the mummies, we can see numerous udjat eyes on several of them.[138] Thus we see that in Egypt this amulet was worn both by the living and by the dead, and we may suppose that the same was the case in the West, where many udjats have appeared in tombs. As for the piece we are here considering, its technical perfection forces us to regard it as Egyptian work, to be dated before the Persian occupation, after which, as I have said above, the quality of the amulets suffered a considerable decline.

---

[127] Petrie, *Amulets*, Pl. XXIV f.

[128] Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 32.

[129] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 266.

[130] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 273. Cintas, *Amulettes*, Pl. XIX, 126.

[131] Taramelli, Lavagnino, *Museo di Sassari*, p. 41.

[132] Vives, *Arqueologia cartaginesa*, pp. 104 f., Nos. 635-643, Pl. XXXVIII, 1-17.

[133] Astruc, *Villaricos*, Pl. VIII, 10-11; XVI, 4-8; XXIII, 11; XXVII, 5-6; XXXII, 20; XLII, 24.

[134] Culican, *AJBA*, 1,5, p. 120, figs 1 and 5. We recall also the presence in the Castell de Peralada Collection of a glazed composition ring with an *udjat* eye, though of unknown provenance.

[135] Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 32.

[136] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 265, n. 1.

[137] Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 32.

[138] Petrie, *Amulets*, Pl. L, 1-5; LI, 6-8 and 10-12; LII, 15.

**Empúries, No. 07.21** Amulet (Pl. XLIII)

*Material and Colour*: Bone.

*Measurements*: height 2.2 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Empúries Monographic Museum.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found in Inhumation Tomb No. 96 of the Martí Necropolis, which was uncovered at a depth of 2.20 metres. Inhumation of an infant whose corpse had been placed on the soft earth and covered with it, with the head towards the east. The remains measured 0.70 m. long. The furnishings were as follows:

A Massaliote silver obol, on the obverse a male head looking to the left, on the reverse the inscription MA between the four spokes of a wheel or a cross, apparently an imitation of a Syracusan coin (No. 1).

An Emporitan silver obol, on the obverse a head of Ceres, front face, on the reverse a horseman galloping to the right (No. 2).

A small earring of fine gold thread, 0.5 cm. in diameter (No. 3).

A circular bronze eyelet or ring 2.3 cm. in diameter (No. 4).

A fragment of a little "cupid" ring, possibly a pendant, 1 cm. in diameter (No. 5).

Two small composition beads, cupid-shaped and leaden in colour, 1 cm. and 0.5 cm. in diameter respectively (Nos. 6 and 7).

A disk-shaped composition bead of flat section and reddish colour, measuring 1.1 cm. in largest diameter (No. 8).

A "protective hand" in bone, 3 cm. long, pierced to serve as a pendant, making the sign of protection against the evil eye (No. 9).[139]

The zoomorphic amulet under consideration here (No. 10).

The account of this furniture, together with that of the whole Martí Necropolis, was published by Almagro in 1953.[140]

*Bibliography*: Almagro, *Necrópolis*, I, pp. 43 and 93, Pl. XIII, 12.

---

[139] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 278, considers this type of amulet, showing a forearm with closed fist and the thumb pushing between the index and middle fingers, as strictly Punic, although the same type, with some differences, it is true, occurs in Egypt itself in the Roman period, very possibly under a reverse Phoenico-Punic influence. Cf. Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 11, Pl. 1, 13 a-b. On the other hand the view of Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 283, that the dating of these amulets in Egypt must perhaps be revised in view of the Carthage finds, also merits discussion.

[140] Almagro, *Necrópolis*, I, pp. 43 and 93, whence I have taken the description of the tomb furniture.

*Date*: The Emporitan obol, dated between 350 and 310 B.C., dates this tomb to the second half of the 4th century.[141] Our piece itself is also 4th-century.

*Description*: The figure of an ape, highly stylized, seated, its head supported on its hands in an attitude of thought. It is centrally pierced. The figure is on a small base.

*Parallels*: The seated ape figures began to be used as amulets in Egypt, according to Petrie, during the VIth Dynasty and continued into the XXXth. According to the same author, during the XXVIth Dynasty amulets began to be manufactured of standing apes, which seem to have persisted into the Ptolemaic period.[142] These amulets are relatively numerous at Carthage.[143]

*Conclusion*: There is no obvious interpretation of the meaning of this amulet. Petrie gives none, and the only explication we have is Vercoutter's.[144] He connects it with the belief in ancient Egypt that the excrement of apes was an efficacious remedy against all kinds of magic. We must have great reserves about regarding the piece as Egyptian. Nothing about it is wholly Egyptian in character. On the other hand, its extreme stylization, the fact above all of its being made of bone not glazed composition, strongly inclines me to believe it a Punic, or at any rate Western, work, though undoubtedly in imitation of Egyptian models. I therefore think it must be classified as Pseudoegyptian.

**Empúries, No. 07.22** Amulet

*Material and Colour*: Bone or ivory without painting.[145]

*Measurements*: —.

*Place of Keeping*: Gerona Archaeological Museum (?).[146]

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Not known exactly; according to Botet must have appeared in some Emporitan tomb at Portitxol before the beginning of the excavations by the Committee of Museums in 1908.

*Bibliography*: Botet, *Data aproximada*, p. 38 and probably Pl. VII, 7.

---

[141] Almagro, *Necrópolis*, I, pp. 33 and 93.

[142] Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 43, Pl. XXXVII, 204-205.

[143] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 267 f. (fig. 8), 271 (fig. 13), 274, 286.

[144] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 286.

[145] All these particulars are taken from the description in Botet, *Data aproximada*, p. 38.

[146] Nothing is at present known about this piece in the Museum itself, as Dr. Oliva informed me. But it was there in the year 1908, according to Botet's testimony.

*Date*: —.

*Description*: According to Botet a representation of the bull Apis beside the waters of the Nile. The photograph, not at all clear, does not enable us to verify this assertion. What we seem to have is a small square plaquette with the design in relief and a suspension ring at the top.

*Parallels*: Recalls the small rectangular plaquettes coming from Egypt with reliefs of the bull Apis and the cow Hathor,[147] one of which has been recovered in Gibraltar.

*Conclusion*: It is difficult to give any opinion as to whether this piece was of Egyptian manufacture or an imitation. Nor can anything be said about its dating.

**Empúries, No. 07.23** Vessel (Pl. XLIV)

*Material and Colour*: Green glazed composition with dark violet and blackish flecks.

*Measurements*: length 5.8 cm., height 4.8 cm., breadth 3.9 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Gerona Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 321). Previously on deposit in the Barcelona Archaeological Museum and in the Empúries Monographic Museum.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Comes undoubtedly from the Portitxol Necropolis,[148] which is situated to the south-east of the *Neapolis* of Empúries and is the earliest necropolis so far known in this colony. The Portitxol Necropolis had already been discovered in former times and vigorously ransacked up to 1908 by treasure seekers and collectors of antiquities. From a little before 1908 when the official excavations began, numerous discoveries were made in this Necropolis by the Hydrological Forestry Service, directed by an engineer, Señor Xavier de Ferrer, during the levelling operations carried out in order to fix the coastal sand-dunes.[149] These finds were formed into a collection by the Forestry Service in Empúries itself and very soon passed on to the Gerona Museum. This flask, like that which follows, comes from that collection. This is what we know for certain. But García y Bellido believed he could identify the tomb in which it was found.[150] This in his opinion was the tomb discovered by Ferrer near the road leading to Sant Martí d'Empúries around the hill in which

[147] See Petrie, *Amulets*, Pl. XXXVII, 207 d and 209 a-e.

[148] Botet, *Data aproximada*, pp. 35, 58 ff. On these pages Botet describes the situation of the Necropolis and the manner in which it was "excavated".

[149] Botet, *Data aproximada*, pp. 59 f. Casellas, *Anuari*, III, p. 283. García y Bellido, *Hisp. Graeca*, II, pp. 23 ff.

[150] García y Bellido, *Hisp. Graeca*, II, pp. 24, 151.

the Portitxol Necropolis is situated. Cazurro, who was present at the discovery of this tomb, has left us a sketch of it which was published by Casellas.[151] From him and from the sketch we know positively that it was an inhumation tomb and that a bronze lion's head was found in it, probably the terminal of a chariot pole.[152] García y Bellido thought that a "little tortoise" visible in the sketch could be this hedgehog flask.[153] But that is not possible, because Botet, in an additional note at the end of his work, records the discovery by Ferrer in Portitxol of the bronze lion's (or panther's) head, together with a rhyton easily recognisable in Cazurro's sketch. These discoveries took place, according to Botet, after the completion of his work, that is to say, in 1908,[154] while the hedgehog, described and photographed by him in the body of the work, must necessarily have been an older find.

*Bibliography*: Botet, *Data aproximada*, p. 36, Pl. VII, 2. Frickenhaus, *Anuari*, II, pp. 205 f., No. 11, fig. 13. Cazurro y Gandia, *Anuari*, V, p. 659, fig. 3. Bosch, Serra, *Emporion*, p. 19. Bosch, *Etnologia*, p. 311, fig. 262. Pericot, *Hist. Esp.*, I, p. 277. Bosch – Serra – Castillo, *Emporion*, p. 36. Almagro, *Ampurias*, Pl. XXIII. Oliva, *MMAP*, V, pp. 96 f., Pl. XVI, 2. García y Bellido, *Hisp. Graeca*, II, pp. 24 and 151, Láminas, Pl. LXVI, 15. García y Bellido, *Hist. Esp.*, I, II. p. 533, fig. 468 C and Pl. facing p. 570. Bosch et Serra, *CVA*, *MAB*, I, p. 16, Pl. 1, 8. Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, pp. 42 f., II, Pl. VI, 6.

*Date*: Trías has dated this piece to the end of the 7th century or beginning of the 6th, a dating which seems to me rather too early, since pieces of this type are datable to the middle of the 6th century. Sixth-century material is most abundant in the Portitxol Necropolis, the oldest known of Emporitan necropolises, though it continued in use till a later period. There is no doubt that this flask must have been found in one of the older tombs of the Necropolis.

*Description*: A small moulded flask in the form of a hedgehog. The mouth, which like the handle, has been restored, must have been disk-shaped like that of a globular aryballos. The four legs are very slender and the base has been converted into a flat horseshoe-shaped stand. The body of the hedgehog is cross-hatched over its various parts with an incised network conventionally representing the spines. The snout is sharppointed. The remaining features of the animal's head are engraved.

---

[151] Casellas, *Anuari*, III, p. 285, fig. 8. Cf. García y Bellido, *Hisp. Graeca*, II, p. 24, fig. 9.
[152] Casellas, *Anuari*, III, p. 283, figs. 7 f.
[153] García y Bellido, *Hisp. Graeca*, II, pp. 24, 151. Láminas, Pl. LXVI.
[154] Botet, *Data aproximada*, p. 62.

*Parallels*: Trías gives an ample bibliography with parallels more or less similar to this hedgehog and the aryballos which here follows it, from many European museums.[155] To these I can add, from Egypt, the hedgehog in the Pushkin Museum[156] and that in the Borely Museum in Marseilles, as well as that published by Maspero which was already referred to by Botet.[157] These hedgehogs are similarly to be found in Rhodes.[158]

*Conclusion*: The extensive literature I have mentioned owes its origin to the problem of defining the exact place of manufacture of faience vessels of this type. The authors waver between Naucratis and Rhodes, and the discussion of this point goes back to the first decade of this century. Trías inclines to Naucratis for the provenance of the Emporion hedgehog.[159] For my part, I wish only to add that the technique of these flasks is genuinely Egyptian, and that the flasks themselves are well documented in Egypt. See my discussion of the Mailhac vessel No. 02.01. As an animal the hedgehog was associated in Egypt with the idea of protection,[160] which explains the form given to these aryballoi, destined as they were to contain prophylactic unguents. The technique and symbolism of this vessel are thus Egyptian, and their origin must have been Egyptian too.[161]

**Empúries, No. 07.24** Vessel (Pl. XLIV)

*Material and Colour*: Bluish-green glazed composition.

*Measurements*: largest diameter 5.4 cm., height 5.3 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Gerona Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 320). Previously deposited in the Empúries Monographic Museum and the Barcelona Archaeological Museum.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found in the Portitxol Necropolis before 1908. We do not know if it was found in association with the hedgehog, brought to light in the same Necropolis at the same period. From the first

---

[155] Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, pp. 41 ff. Cf. e.g. Maximova, *Vases plastiques*, II, Pl. XXXII, 120.

[156] Hodjache, *Antiquités égyptiennes*, Pl. 61.

[157] Maspero, *Archéologie*, p. 254. Bissing, *CGC*, *Fayencegefässe*, p. 73, No. 3839. Botet, *Data aproximada*, p. 38.

[158] See examples from Egypt and Rhodes in Bissing, *Zeit und Herkunft*, Pl. III, 7-10.

[159] Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 43.

[160] On the hedgehog in Egypt, as well as on the porcupine with which it was (and continued to be) frequently confused, see Keimer, *ASAE*, XLIX, pp. 393 ff. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pp. 141 f., fig. 140, publishes the account of a faience hedgehog from Tomb 655 at Beni Hassan, dated to the Middle Kingdom, measuring 5.8 cm. long. It rests on a flat base. This piece shows how ancient in Egypt were the prototypes of the Naucratite hedgehogs in glazed ware.

[161] Cf. also the discussion of the aryballoi No. 02.01 (from Mailhac) and No. 07.24.

publication by Botet onward, the accounts of the two have always been published together,[162] but this may be due to the evident kinship of their techniques. For the Portitxol Necropolis, see under No. 07.23.

*Bibliography*: Botet, *Data aproximada*, pp. 35 f., Pl. VII, 1. Frickenhaus, *Anuari*, II, p. 205, No. 10, fig. 13. Cazurro y Gandia, *Anuari*, V, p. 659, fig. 3. Bosch – Serra, *Emporion*, p. 19. Bosch, *Etnologia*, p. 311, fig. 262. Pericot, *Hist. Esp.*, I, p. 277. Bosch – Serra – Castillo, *Emporion*, p. 36. Bissing, *Zeit und Herkunft*, p. 21. Almagro, *Ampurias*, Pl. XXIII. Oliva, *MMAP*, V, pp. 96 f., Pl. XVI, 4. García y Bellido, *Ars*, pp. 189 f., fig. 198. García y Bellido, *Hisp. Graeca*, II, p. 151. Láminas, Pl. LXVI, 14. García y Bellido, *Hist. Esp.*, I, II, p. 533, fig. 468 D and Pl. facing p. 570. Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 41; II, Pl. VI, 1.

*Date*: According to Trías, beginning of the 6th century. This dating must in fact be advanced to the middle of the 6th century. This flask must have come to light in one of the older tombs of the Portitxol Necropolis. Cf. remarks on the hedgehog, No. 07.23.

*Description*: An aryballos of spheroidal body, flat, vertical handle, and rim of the mouth slightly conical. Its moulded decoration consists of a cross-hatching incised over the whole body of the flask. On the base are two incised circles and between them a cross and a star.[163]

*Parallels*: In my study of the hedgehog flask No. 07.23 I referred to numerous parallels, the bibliography of which is quoted by Trías for both vessels.[164] I observe also that Emporion has yielded other aryballoi more or less like the example we are now considering in technique and decoration.[165] From Puig des Molins, in Ibiza, comes another globular Naucratite aryballos.[166] In the area covered by this Thesis, with similar cross-hatching, I can cite the examples from Mailhac, No. 02.01, from Molar, No. 19.04, and from Los Villares, No. 20.01. In the Iberian Peninsula, in Upper Andalusia, I can quote the example from La Bobadilla.[167] The wide

---

[162] Botet, *Data aproximada*, pp. 35 f., Pl. VII, 1 and 2.

[163] Description taken from Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 41.

[164] Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 41.

[165] Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 42; II, Pl. VI, 2-5. The reference is from No. 07.25 to No. 07.28.

[166] García y Bellido, *Hisp. Graeca*, II, p. 191, Láminas, Pl. LXVI. Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 296; II, Pl. CXLVI, 1. This is an example with flat base and a palmette at the attachment of the handle showing a cartouche possibly of King Amasis (according to the information given to me by Mª José Almagro Gorbea, Keeper of the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid, where the piece is kept at present. Two exactly similar examples in the Cairo Museum show a cartouche of King Amasis (570-526). See Bissing, *CGC, Fayencegefässe*, pp. 41 f., Nos. 3735 and 3736.

[167] Maluquer, *Memoria 1972*, pp. 45 ff. Maluquer, Picazo and del Rincón, *La Bobadilla*, pp. 16 ff., fig. 14, Pl. IV.

Mediterranean distribution of these aryballoi has been studied by Bissing, from Etruria to Greece and Phoenicia,[168] giving special attention to the finds in Rhodes.[169] Of course these aryballoi are also found in Egypt itself.[170]

*Conclusion* : In discussing the Emporion hedgehog I referred to the problem of deciding whether the workshop in which these vessels were made was at Naucratis or Rhodes, and returned also to the arguments developed in connection with Mailhac No. 02.01. Trías, with some hesitation, favours a Naucratite origin for the aryballos here considered.[171] For my part I observe that while the form of the aryballos is Greek, without room for doubt,[172] the technique of this type of faience is manifestly of Egyptian origin, and moreover this flask is closely related, both by its cross-hatched decoration and its technique, to the hedgehog already considered, with which it also shares a common place of discovery, the Portitxol Necropolis. This and the remaining globular aryballoi of Naucratite type seem to me, without question, Egyptian products manufactured by Egyptian craftsmen.[173]

**Empúries, No. 07.25** Vessel (Pl. XLIV)

*Material and Colour* : Yellowish ware, of very fine consistency, which has lost its glaze.

*Measurements* : height 5.7 cm., diameter at mouth 3.7 cm.

*Place of Keeping* : Empúries Monographic Museum.

*Circumstances of Discovery* : Found in the inhumation sepulchre at Bonjoan Necropolis No. 57, encountered at a depth of 0.49 m. The corpse was laid on the rocky ground, with stones of matching size at its sides to form the tomb, covered with soil. The skeleton was found almost dissolved but it was still possible to note that its head was placed to the east and that it measured 0.78 m. The furniture was found beside the left arm of the corpse and consisted of the following :

---

[168] Bissing, *Zeit und Herkunft*, pp. 16 ff.

[169] Bissing, *Zeit und Herkunft*, p. 26.

[170] Bissing, *CGC Fayencegefässe*, pp. 41 f., 72 f. and 83, especially No. 3837 (p. 72).

[171] Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 41.

[172] However Bissing, *St. Etr.*, XI, p. 416, n. 5, remarks that the globular aryballoi of Naucratis type have their forerunners in the Corinthian and Protocorinthian aryballoi, which in their turn must necessarily have been influenced by the Egyptian kohl (eye ointment) pots which had existed from the New Kingdom onward.

[173] See further reasons in support of my arguments, and also on the dating of these aryballoi, in my conclusions on No. 02.01.

A blue composition aryballos with the colour completely preserved, decorated with alternating zigzag lines of clear blue and yellow, and with some incisions in the base, measuring 6 cm. high (No. 1).

The flask we are here considering (No. 2).

*Bibliography*: Almagro, *Necrópolis*, I, pp. 197 f., Pl. X,7. Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 42; II, Pl. VI,2.

*Date*: Almagro dates this flask to 525 B.C. or perhaps later,[174] Trías to the 6th century or the beginning of the 5th.[175] For my part, I think that like other vessels of its kind it should be dated to the middle of the 6th century (its 2nd or 3rd quarter).

*Description*: This is a Naucratis aryballos, of globular body, with flat mouth and handles. The mouth has been restored, and the loss of the glaze has already been noted. The body is scored with incised oblique lines. Around the attachment of the neck are some violet flecks.

*Parallels*. Cf. those quoted for No. 07.24.

*Conclusion*: Almagro interprets this piece as a local imitation of a Corinthian aryballos. Rejecting this idea, Trías, with some hesitation, saw it as an aryballos manufactured in Naucratis, though admitting that it could in fact be a mere imitation. In general, on the Naucratis aryballoi, cf. my discussion of the Mailhac aryballos, No. 02.01 and of Empúries Nos. 07.23 and 07.24.

**Empúries, No. 07.26** Vessel (Pl. XLIV)

*Material and Colour*: Yellowish ware.

*Measurements*: height 4.4 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Gerona Diocesan Museum (Inventory No. 3.306).

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Uncertain. Probably comes from the disorderly excavations carried out before 1908 when the official excavations of the Committee of Museums began. It is very possible that this vase was found in the Portitxol Necropolis, which was the most vigorously ransacked in this first phase.

*Bibliography*: Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 42; II, Pl. VI,3.

*Date*: Datable, like the foregoing, to the 2nd or 3rd quarter of the 6th century.[176]

---

[174] Almagro, *Necrópolis*, I, p. 198.

[175] Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 42.

[176] Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 42, gives it a 6th-century or early 5th-century dating.

*Description*: Naucratis aryballos, spherical with flat mouth and handle restored. The body is decorated with incised cross-hatching, while on the shoulder and below the handle are some violet flecks very like those on No. 07.25.

*Parallels*: This aryballos is very like the preceding, No. 07.25. For parallels to the globular aryballoi from Naucratis in general, cf. remarks on No. 07.24.

*Conclusion*: Cf. remarks on the foregoing pieces.

**Empúries, No. 07.27** Vessel (Pl. XLIV)

*Material and Colour*: Yellowish ware, with a white glaze.

*Measurements*: height 5.5 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Barcelona Archaeological Museum (Inventory No. 323).

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Not now known.[177]

*Bibliography*: García y Bellido, *Ars*, p. 189, fig. 198. Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 42; II, Pl. VI, 4.

*Date*: 6th century, probably its second or third quarter.

*Description*: Globular Naucratis aryballos, with flat mouth now restored. The spherical body of the flask is divided into two equal hemispheres by two incised horizontal lines. The two halves are decorated with a series of vertical ornaments like branches side by side.

*Parallels*: This aryballos, with its decoration arranged in horizontal bands, is very like the following (No. 07.28). Bissing published an aryballos from Etruria with the decoration of vertical incisions in several bands separated from one another by two horizontal lines.[178] In general, cf. remarks on No. 07.24.

*Conclusion*: Cf. remarks on the previous aryballoi.

**Empúries, No. 07.28** Vessel (Pl. XLIV)

*Material and Colour*: Whitish ware which has lost its glazed decoration.

*Measurements*: height 6 cm., diameter of mouth 4 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Catalina Albert Collection, L'Escala.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Unknown. Undoubtedly a product of the treasure-hunting in Empúries before the beginning of the official excavations by the Barcelona Museums Committee in 1908.

[177] I have consulted the corresponding card in the Barcelona Archaeological Museum, which was edited by Gloria Trías, but it gives no indication.

[178] Bissing, *St. Etr.*, XI, Pl. LVI, 42.

*Bibliography*: Trias, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 42; II, Pl. VI, 5.

*Date*: 6th century, probably its second or third quarter.[179]

*Description*: Aryballos of Naucratis type, with globular body and flat, discoidal mouth. The body of the flask is divided into two equal parts by two horizontal lines in relief and each half is decorated with adjoining branches, perpendicular to the two lines. The base is flat and smooth.

*Parallels*: The decoration on this aryballos is like that on the preceding, No. 07.27. In general for parallels to the globular aryballoi of Naucratis type, cf. remarks on No. 07.24.

*Conclusion*: Cf. remarks on the preceding pieces.

## 8. CYPSELA (?), PUIG DE SANT ANDREU, ULLASTRET (GERONA)

The *Puig* (hill) de Sant Andreu, 50 m. above sea level at its highest point, is the most dominant of the little hills rising around the former Lake Ullastret, which has been dried up since the end of the 19th century. It was not the only lake in the area, and in the Middle Ages they were all still navigable and connected with one another. At the beginning of the 19th century Lake Ullastret still discharged into the sea through the lake and sands of Pals, and today after a season of strong rains it still fills up again and the area takes on its former watery aspect.

The deposit situated on Puig de Sant Andreu has been known since the 19th century, and has been repeatedly referred to as an Iberian settlement. In 1945-6 Serra Ràfols devoted an article[1] to it and this was immediately followed by the beginning of the official excavations by Oliva in 1947. From this date onward the work has regularly continued year after year, bringing to light not an Iberian settlement but a regular Greek city, sufficiently attested by the material found there.

The most ancient archaeological ingredients of the Ullastret deposit date from the beginnings of the 6th century. Possibly this city too had its *Palaiapolis* in the adjacent deposit of Illa d'En Reixac, of recent discovery.[2] The colony was thus founded at substantially the same date as neighbouring Emporion, from which it is only some 15 km. distant in a straight line.

---

[179] This, like the aryballoi which I have just cited, is given by Trias, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 42, a 6th-century or early 5th-century dating, without specifying further.

[1] Serra Ràfols, *Ampurias*, VII-VIII, pp. 359 ff.

[2] Oliva, *Ullastret*[3], pp. 5, 36 f.

The period of greatest development of Ullastret lasted from the 5th century to the beginning of the 3rd, and it is interesting to note that during this period the Greeks of Ullastret, like those of Emporion, were also subject to the influence of Phoenicia and Carthage. For unknown reasons, however, the city suffered a considerable decline in the second half of the 3rd century and totally disappeared with the arrival of the Romans. It is supposed that the final destruction of the city of Puig de Sant Andreu was due to Marcus Porcius Cato in the year 195 B.C.[3]

Today we cannot be sure what was the name of this Greek city. There is a possibility that it was the "Cypsela" mentioned in the *Ora Maritima* of Avienus.[4]

In the excavations of Puig de Sant Andreu have come to light two terracottas and a panel.[5]

*Bibliography*

J. de C. Serra Ráfols, *El poblado indiketa de Ullastret*, in *Ampurias*, VII-VIII, Barcelona, 1945-46, pp. 359 ff.

Luis Pericot y Miguel Oliva, *Actividades de la Comisaría Provincial de Excavaciones Arqueológicas en 1947*, in *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses*, II, Gerona, 1947, pp. 273 f.

Luis Pericot y Miguel Oliva, *Actividades de la Comisaría Provincial de Excavaciones Arqueológicas en 1949. Poblado Ibérico de Ullastret. (2ª campaña de excavaciones)*, in *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses*, IV, Gerona, 1949, pp. 321 f.

Luis Pericot y Miguel Oliva, *Actividades de la Comisaría Provincial de Excavaciones Arqueológicas de Gerona en 1950*, in *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses*, V, Gerona, 1950, p. 267.

Luis Pericot y Miguel Oliva, *Actividades de la Comisaría Provincial de Excavaciones Arqueológicas de Gerona en 1952. Tercera Campaña de Excavaciones del Plan Nacional, en el Poblado "indiketa" de Ullastret*, in *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses*, VII, Gerona, 1952, pp. 355 ff.

Miguel Oliva Prat, *Actividades de la Comisaría Provincial de Excavaciones Arqueológicas de Gerona en 1953. Cuarta campaña de Excavaciones del Plan Nacional en la Ciudad "indiketa" de Ullastret*, in *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses*, VIII, Gerona, 1953, pp. 296 ff.

Miguel Oliva Prat, *Actividades de la Comisaría Provincial de Excavaciones Arqueológicas de Gerona, en 1954. Quinta campaña de Excavaciones Arqueológicas del Plan Nacional en la ciudad indiketa de Ullastret, en el Bajo Ampurdán*, in *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses*, IX, Gerona, 1954, pp. 272 ff.

Miguel Oliva Prat, *Actividades de la Delegación Provincial del Servicio Nacional de Excavaciones Arqueológicas de Gerona en 1955. Excavaciones Arqueológicas del Plan Nacional en la Ciudad Indiketa o Prerromana de Ullastret, partido de Ullastret, Bajo Ampurdán, Gerona. Sexta Campaña de Trabajos*, in *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses*, X, Gerona, 1955, pp. 322 ff.

---

[3] Oliva, *Ullastret*[3], p. 44.

[4] Avienus, *Ora mar.*, 527.

[5] I acknowledge the kindness of the late Dr. M. Oliva in facilitating my study of this material.

Miguel Oliva Prat, *Ullastret, Guia de las Excavaciones y su Museo*, Gerona, 1962.
Miquel Tarradell, *Les Arrels de Catalunya*, Biografies Catalanes, Sèrie Històrica, Introducció, Barcelona, 1962, pp. 225 ff.
Michel Oliva Prat, *Les fouilles archéologiques de l'oppidum d'Ullastret (Gérone - Espagne)*, Gérone, 1963.
Juan Maluquer de Motes, *El impacto colonial griego y el comienzo de la vida urbana en Cataluña*, Barcelona, 1966.
Miguel Oliva Prat, *Ullastret. Guía de las excavaciones y su Museo*, Gerona, ²1967.
Gloria Trías de Arribas, *Cerámicas griegas de la Península Ibérica.* Tomo I, *Texto*, Publicaciones de Arqueología Hispánica, II, Serie Primera. Monografías sobre cerámicas hispánicas, 2, Valencia, 1967.
Gloria Trías de Arribas, *Cerámicas griegas de la Península Ibérica.* Tomo II, *Indices y láminas*, Publicaciones de Arqueología Hispánica, II, Serie Primera, Monografías sobre cerámicas hispánicas, 2, Valencia, 1968.
Miguel Oliva Prat, *Las excavaciones arqueológicas del yacimiento prerromano de Ullastret, Bajo Ampurdán (Gerona)*, 5 tomos, unpublished doctoral thesis, Universidad de Barcelona, 1969.
Miguel Oliva Prat, *Ullastret. Guia de las Excavaciones y su Museo*, Gerona, ³1970.
J. M. de M., *Ullastret*, Barcelona, 1971.
Mª Encarna Sanahuja Yll, *Noticia sobre un aplique "Stamnos-situla" procedente de Ullestret*, in *Pyrenae*, 7, Barcelona, 1971, pp. 162 ff.
M. E. Aubet, *Dos marfiles con representación de esfinge de la necrópolis púnica de Ibiza*, in *Rivista di Studi Fenici*, I, 1, Roma, 1973, pp. 59 ff.

**Puig de Sant Andreu, No. 08.01** Figure of a Deity (Pl. XLV)

*Material and Colour*: Terracotta of pale pink clay with remnants of polychromy in red and pale blue.

*Measurements*: height 10 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Ullastret Monographic Museum (Ullastret General Inventory No. 1500).

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found in Cut B-2, Stratum IV, at a depth between 0.90 and 1.05 m., in the so-called Camp Alt d'En Sagrera, at the South of Street I, which appeared years afterwards. This stratigraphic sondage was carried out by Oliva and Palol in 1949, preparatory to the 2nd Excavation Campaign, which was carried out in that year with the aim of showing the deposit to the IIIrd Ampurias International Course in Prehistory and Archaeology, taking place in September. The figurine was accompanied by a Hellenistic Greek lamp 11.8 cm. long by 3.8 cm. high as its most important and most complete piece, although some repair has been needed; a fragment of the base of a skyphos and rim fragments of vases likewise Greek, in red-figure style; fragments of pottery belonging to urns of ovoid outline, very typical of the middle strata of Puig de Sant Andreu and even sometimes of the deeper ones, with a border decoration in wine-coloured and red painting, of Iberian type; and two others with white bands, also parallel and horizontal.[6] Oliva gives the following detailed inventory of the archaeolo-

[6] Oliva, *Excavaciones*, 5, p. 219.

gical context in which this terracotta came to light, with the corresponding numbers of the General Inventory of the Gerona Museum (36.357 to 36.537):

1 fragment of rim and base of a small piece, very crude;
2 fragments of rim and base of a small fine piece;
18 rim fragments of hand-made ware;
1 rim fragment of a lid of hand-made ware;
2 flat handle fragments of hand-made ware;
4 decorated fragments of hand-made ware;
3 base fragments of hand-made ware;
5 fragments of hand-made ware;
22 rim fragments of Greek ware;
2 rim fragments, complete with handles, of a skyphos;
1 rim fragment and handle of a painted skyphos;
5 rim fragments and handle of a skyphos;
1 fragment complete with handle of a decorated catinus of Greek ware;
16 fragments of skyphos handles;
8 base fragments, all of Greek ware;
1 pre-Campanian base, with palmettes on the inside;
1 decorated rim fragment of Greek ware;
8 decorated fragments of Greek ware;
7 fragments of *unguentaria* with remnants of little handles;
2 rim fragments of Ionio-Phocaean ware;
1 miniature spindle-whorl;
1 arm-band fragment of white composition;
70 fragments of Greek ware;
bronze remnants.[7]

In addition, at Level III of this same cut the headless body of a Hellenistic Tanagra figure clothed in a himation came to light, and at Level II a thymaterion or "joss-stick" holder. Moreover the immediate neighbourhood of the place where this cut was made has yielded an abundance of terracottas and figurines:

A thymaterion in the form of a head of Demeter;
a fragment of a relief;
a miniature head wearing a bifront, of rich blue composition, in imitation of a classical terracotta;
a fragment of an ex-voto.

---

[7] Oliva, *Excavaciones*, 5, p. 243.

All this suggested to Oliva a site where remnants of this kind were kept, or else the filling of a hole with transported rubble.[8] Oliva's account of the piece in question was published in 1955.[9]

*Bibliography*: Oliva, *AIEG*, X, pp. 408 f. Oliva, *Ullastret*[1], p. 55. Oliva, *Fouilles*, frontispiece. Oliva, *Ullastret*[2], pp. 64, 76. Oliva, *Excavaciones*, 5, pp. 219 ff., 243 f. Oliva, *Ullastret*[3], pp. 67, 76.

*Date*: Oliva dates the terracotta by its archaeological context, and especially by the lamp, to the second half of the 4th century, thinking that it could not have reached Puig de Sant Andreu before the middle of that century.[10]

*Description*: A hollow figure of the god Bes, of which two matching fragments are preserved including the head and the right side, but lacking the legs, the lower part of the trunk, and the left side, as well as almost all the back of the figure. The god's head has his characteristic crown, formed of five feathers in an open fan and mounted on a base over his head. The head itself is swathed in a panther's skin from which the face looks out and is clearly not a mask. The forehead is prominent, the eyes rather rounded, and the nose snub. The god is sticking his tongue out and above his big moustaches his puffed-out cheeks can be seen, giving him his proverbial smiling look. The beard forms part of the panther's skin. The god is raising his right hand, palm outward, with his arm close to his body.

*Parallels*: The nearest parallel, evidently, is the other terracotta of the god Bes, also found in Puig de Sant Andreu, No. 08.02, which as we shall see has the identical posture. Other terracottas of Bes from the Peninsula are that from Cerro del Villar (Malaga), No. 30.02, and possibly that from Jebut (Soses), No. 11.01. A good parallel for the two terracottas of Puig de Sant Andreu is offered by that from Karalis in Sardinia, of very similar workmanship, and painted.[11] Another terracotta representing Bes has been found in Tharros.[12] And in the kilns of Dermech, at Carthage, a mould has been found for the manufacture of Bes terracottas,[13] as also, much nearer, in Ibiza itself.[14] It is unnecessary to emphasize the abundance of Bes terracottas found in Egypt, especially in later periods.

---

[8] Oliva, *Excavaciones*, 5, pp. 219 ff.

[9] Oliva, *AIEG*, X, pp. 408 ff.

[10] Oliva, *Excavaciones*, 5, pp. 219, 221.

[11] Barreca *et alii*, *Sardegna*, p. 155, fig. 145.

[12] Harden, *Los fenicios*, pp. 105 f., fig. 18. Arribas, *BB-MB*, *5ª E*, III, Pl. 6.

[13] Harden, *Los fenicios*, pp. 103 and 105, fig. 17. Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 347, n. 2, refers to a red terracotta Bes found in the Odeon pottery kiln at Carthage.

[14] Tarradell, *Història dels Catalans*, I, p. 236. Arribas, *BB-MB*, *5ª E*, III, Pl. 1 and 2.

*Conclusion*: Without any doubt, this terracotta must have been manufactured in the West, in some Punic kiln. As for the gesture made by the god, it may be thought perhaps to recall the gesture of Min. In this case Bes ought theoretically to be holding a whip in his raised right hand. But in this connection I note that even in Egypt terracottas exist with deities undoubtedly making the gesture of Min, but merely by holding up their right hand without any whip in it, owing to the technical difficulty of representing a whip in terracotta. All the same, though in this terracotta we do not see the left arm, we do see it in its companion figure, No. 08.02, and there it is not sufficiently indicative of any particular action. Thus we cannot rule out the possibility that in both terracottas Bes is merely dancing.

**Puig de Sant Andreu, No. 08.02** Figure of a Deity (Pl. XLVI)

*Material and Colour*: Terracotta of bright chestnut-coloured clay.
*Measurements*: height 8.8 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Ullastret Monographic Museum (Inventory No. 3085).
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found in the course of exploratory *sondages* in the estate called Closa Batallera carried out during the 16th Campaign of 1965-66, on 15 February 1966, in Sondage No. 1, Extension, in a stratum of burnt soil. Its archaeological accompaniment consisted of fragments of hand-made vessels of S-outline, ovoid, with a decoration of cuts and scratches. Some of this ware had the outer surface burnished. There were also mouth-rims of amphoras, neckless, or of flat type, both suggesting that the deposit was an early one, and a La Tène I bronze fibula, with double spring, of about 400 B.C. In the upper stratum of this excavation was a piece of the base and rim of a Campanian A patera, stamped with a rosette. In its immediate neighbourhood there came to light half an olpe mouth in reddish clay. Closa Batallera is an extramural sector, alongside the east wall of Puig de Sant Andreu,[15] in low-lying land on the fringes of the former lake.[16]

*Bibliography*: Oliva, *Ullastret*[2], pp. 64, 76. Oliva, *Excavaciones*, 5, pp. 219, 223 ff. Oliva, *Ullastret*[3], pp. 67, 76.

*Date*: Oliva dates this terracotta from the totality of its archaeological context to the middle of the 4th century.[17]

---

[15] Oliva, *Excavaciones*, 5, pp. 223 ff.
[16] Oliva, *Ullastret*[3], p. 67.
[17] Oliva, *Excavaciones*, 5, p. 225.

*Description*: Hollow figure of the god Bes, lacking the lower part of the legs and the tuft of plumes, which are broken off in front, leaving intact the whole of the back. All the facial features of this image are identical with those on the Bes statuette No. 08.01. It too has the right forearm raised, palm outward, held close to the body. The left hand is supported on the left side of the belly. The trunk is short and thick, as in the god's normal iconography, and the stomach protruding. Around his girdle he wears a cloth knotted in front, below which his hips and short legs stick out.

*Parallels*: See the whole discussion of No. 08.01, its closest parallel.

*Conclusion*: Like the foregoing, a pseudo-Egyptian piece of Western manufacture. Cf. No. 08.01. It is equally unclear in this piece whether Bes is making the gesture of Min or simply a dancing gesture.

**Puig de Sant Andreu, No. 08.03** Panel (Pl. XLVII)

*Material and Colour*: Bone.

*Measurements*: length 7.3 cp., height 3.7 cm., thickness 0.3 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Ullastret Monographic Museum (Inventory No. 3600).

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found at La Pedrera, in the area of the "isthmus" north-east of the city, in March 1971, in the course of the 21st Excavation Campaign. The panel came to light at Level V, which is situated directly over the rock and in which the ware called by Oliva Ionio-Phocaean predominated. The panel was in the deepest part of this level.

*Bibliography*: Aubet, *RSFen.*, I, 1, pp. 62 ff., Pl. XXXIII, 2.

*Date*: Oliva's "Ionio-Phocaean" ware, that is to say, ware painted with bands, of Phoenician inspiration or manufacture, is dated by its Level to the 6th century, which corroborates Aubet's view that this panel is related to the work of the Carthaginian school of engravers of the 7th and 6th centuries.[18]

*Description*: Panel in the form of a sphinx reclining and facing right. The panel is cut along the outline of the sphinx and is engraved on one of its sides and completely smooth on the other. Its technique and style are rather deficient and in general inferior to its ivory counterparts, probably owing to the fact that bone is harder to carve than ivory. The incised lines are therefore straighter and less firm. The features are somewhat damaged. The head is covered with the *nemes*, the typical Egyptian wig, striated, falling backward so as to leave the ears uncovered. It also wears a necklace,

[18] Aubet, *RSFen.*, I, 1, p. 64.

represented by four curved lines, and a string of pendants hanging from it, indicated by small triangles. A wing, of which all but the stump is missing, emerged from the sphinx's back, enough to show that it followed the oriental mode, with two strings of rectilineal feathers. The sphinx's tail rests in a curve on the animal's flank.

*Parallels*: The closest parallel to this panel is an example from the Ibizan Necropolis of Puig des Molins, showing an almost identical sphinx to that of Puig de Sant Andreu, carved in ivory, of which only the front part is preserved. It too is an open-work panel cut out in the shape of the sphinx.[19] But though these Egyptianizing sphinx ornaments in ivory or bone correspond to distant Phoenician prototypes, Aubet points out that the two panels in question are much more closely related to the products of Western Punic workshops. Aubet knows of the existence of open-work panels in the West only at Monte Sirai,[20] and points out that they are extremely rare in the Carthaginian area. On the other hand, the closest parallels for the sphinxes of Ullastret and Ibiza are found by Aubet among the products of Punic craftsmanship. Among them she mentions the ivories of Carmona, in which the sphinx is covered with a sort of garment and wears a necklace decorated with bands;[21] a comb from Cruz del Negro[22] and another from Acebuchal;[23] a plaque from Castillo de Mairena del Alcor[24] and others from the Seville Archaeological Museum, all originating in the Carmona area.[25] And more especially, an ivory comb from Carthage, on one of whose faces a reclining sphinx is engraved, with very similar posture and features.[26]

*Conclusion*: Aubet believes that this piece was made in a Western Punic workshop, and that there must be a relationship between this sphinx and that of Puig des Molins. The only remaining doubt is whether this one was manufactured in Ibiza in imitation of the other, or both in Carthage itself. In any case, what seems certain is that the panel which concerns us here reached Puig de Sant Andreu from Ibiza, as Aubet claims. The commercial

---

[19] Aubet, *RSFen.*, I, 1, pp. 60ff.

[20] Amadasi *et alii*, *Monte Sirai*, II, p. 56, Pl. XXXI. Cf. Aubet, *RSFen.*, I, 1, p. 61.

[21] Blanco Freijeiro, *AEArq.*, XXXIII, pp. 17f. Aubet, *RSFen.*, I, 1, p. 61.

[22] Bonsor, *Early Engraved Ivories*, p. 59, Pl. XXIV. Aubet, *RSFen.*, I, 1, p. 61.

[23] Bonsor, *Early Engraved Ivories*, p. 109, Pl. XLIX. Bonsor, *RA*, XXXV, p. 290. Aubet, *RSFen.*, I, 1, pp. 61f.

[24] Fernández-Chicarro, *AEArq.*, XXV, p. 190, fig. 69. Aubet. *RSFen.*, I, 1, p. 62.

[25] Fernández-Chicarro, *MMAP*, VI, pp. 120 and 126, figs. 17 (2-3) and 20 (29-30). Aubet, *RSFen.*, I, 1, p. 62.

[26] Aubet, *RSFen.*, I, 1, p. 62.

relations between the two sites are sufficiently demonstrated by other finds from the Empordà citadel.[27] I need only add that the piece is Egyptianizing.

## 8a. BARCELONA

On the discovery of an Egyptian statue in Barcelona in the 17th century, see Vol. I, pp. 1ff.

## 9. CAN CANYÍS. MASIES DE SANT MIQUEL, BANYERES DEL PENEDÈS (TARRAGONA)

In August 1960 a cremation necropolis of the first Iron Age was discovered in Can Canyís in the course of agricultural works which caused its destruction. The earth had been completely turned over and the excavators could do nothing but recover such material as they found, without being able to refer it to the fragments of cremation urns.[1] The account of the finds was given by the excavators, Señores Vilaseca, Solé, and Mañé, in a report to the Seventh National Archaeological Congress held in Barcelona in 1961.[2] Two years later they published an account of the work in which they incorporated the discovery and excavation in 1962 of a warrior's tomb.[3] The Necropolis is situated in the southern fold of a gentle elevation, about 140 m. above sea level and 9.5 km. from the sea. Iberian and Roman pottery is to be found at surface level near by, on a site called La Garita Vella, a settlement that has not been excavated up to the present date and of which it is not known whether it possesses ancient levels or not.

The excavated Necropolis area was divided into eighteen squares of $5 \times 5$ m. and it is to these that the authors refer in locating their finds.[4]

Can Canyís is a cremation necropolis of the "urnfield" type. One of its salient characteristics for the excavators, making it essentially distinct from other necropolises of earlier date, is its abundance of weapons. Although the urns are hand-made, there do appear in the Necropolis, though still very sparsely, wheel-made and painted ware. Iron is already relatively abundant. Mediterranean importations included scarabs and bronze pendants,

---

[27] Aubet, *RSFen.*, I, 1, pp. 63f.

[1] Vilaseca, Solé y Mañé, *Can Canyís*, pp. 8 ff.
[2] Vilaseca, Solé y Mañé, *VII CNA*, pp. 209 ff.
[3] Vilaseca, Solé y Mañé, *Can Canyís*, pp. 59 ff.
[4] Vilaseca, Solé y Mañé, *Can Canyís*, pp. 10 f.

but on the other hand there is none of the Asia Minor, Greek, or Etruscan pottery found in the contemporary deposits of Roussillon and Empordà, and especially in the Emporion Necropolis. The parallels with these deposits, as with others in Tarragona Province, have enabled the excavators to date the Can Canyís Necropolis to a period between the dates 600 and 450 B.C. and indeed to the earlier part of it.[5] The recent discovery of new more or less contemporary necropolises at the mouth of the Ebro, like those of Mas de Mussols and Mianes,[6] now enables us to give a much more exact dating to Can Canyís, making it mid-sixth century or a little later.[7]

In Can Canyís Necropolis have been found nine scarabs and six scaraboids complete, plus three fragments (Pl. XLVIII).[8]

*Bibliography*

Salvador Vilaseca Anguera, José María Solé Caselles y Ramón Mañé Güell, *Una necrópolis de incineración de la Primera Edad del Hierro en el Bajo Panadés (Nota Preliminar)*, in *VII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología, Barcelona, 1960* (sic),[9] Zaragoza, 1962, pp. 209ff.

J. Maluquer de Motes, *"Cowroid" de cerámica vidriada hallado en el poblado ibérico del "Tossal del Moro" en Piñeras (Batea, Tarragona)*, in *Strenae. Estudios de Filología e Historia dedicados al Profesor Manuel García Blanco*, Acta Salmanticensia. Filosofía y Letras, XVI, Salamanca, 1962, p. 348.

E. R. P., *Notas de Arqueología de Cataluña y Baleares-II. Tarragona. Banyeres*, in *Ampurias* XXIV, Barcelona, 1962, pp. 336f.

Salvador Vilaseca Anguera, José Mª Solé Caselles y Ramón Mañé Güell, *La necrópolis de Can Canyís (Banyeres, prov. de Tarragona)*, Trabajos del Seminario de Historia Primitiva del Hombre, VIII, Madrid, 1963.

J. Mª Blázquez, *Tartessos y los orígenes de la colonización fenicia en Occidente*, Acta Salmanticensia. Filosofía y Letras, 58, Salamanca, 1968.

J. Maluquer de Motes, *Los fenicios en Cataluña*, in *Tartessos y sus problemas. V Symposium Internacional de Prehistoria Peninsular, Jerez de la Frontera, Septiembre, 1968*, Publicaciones Eventuales No. 13, Barcelona, 1969, pp. 241 ff.

A. Arribas y J. Wilkins, *La necrópolis fenicia del Cortijo de las Sombras (Frigiliana, Málaga)*, in *Pyrenae*, 5, Barcelona, 1969, pp. 185ff.

Josep Padró i Parcerisa, *Breus notes sobre els escarabeus i escaraboids de la necròpolis de Can Canyís*, in *Pyrenae*, 7, Barcelona, 1971, pp. 129ff.

S. Vilaseca Anguera, *Reus y su entorno en la Prehistoria*, I and II, *Ilustración*, Asociación de Estudios Reusenses, Publicación Núm. 48 & 49, Reus, 1973, pp. 254ff., figs 168-170, Pl. 129-131.

---

[5] Vilaseca, Solé y Mañé, *Can Canyís*, pp. 82, 84 and 88.

[6] On the Mas de Mussols Necropolis see the section concerned, below.

[7] Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 133.

[8] I must thank Señor J. Santacana Mestre, who gave me access to this material in the Vendrell Museum. I observe that I can say nothing about the three scarab or scaraboid fragments mentioned, since I have not seen them and no account of them is given by Vilaseca, Solé, and Mañé.

[9] As already mentioned, the VIIth National Congress of Archaeology took place in Barcelona

**Can Canyís, No. 09.01** Scarab (Pl. XLIX)

*Material and Colour*: Bright green glazed composition.

*Measurements*: length 1.3 cm., breadth 1 cm., height 0.5 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Vendrell Municipal Museum.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: This and the following scarabs and scaraboids, with the other pieces from the same deposit found in 1960, came to light in soil which had been completely turned over and consequently could not be referred to a specific burial. All the same, scarabs and scaraboids were recovered more or less grouped together,[10] so that they could be assumed to have all come from the same tomb.[11] I for one think they could all have belonged to the same necklace.[12] Together with the scarabs were numerous objects in disorder: bronze chains, an iron rod which was probably a *soliferreum*, the elements of several bronze necklaces or pendant chains — little tubes, piping, cones, and ball-bezelled rings — loose and more than a thousand in number, a spear-point, a belt buckle with three hooks, and fragments of blackish ware.[13]

*Bibliography*: Vilaseca, Solé y Mañé, *Can Canyís*, p. 54, Pl. XXIX, 1. Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 130. Vilaseca, *Reus*, II, Pl. 129.

*Date*: As I have already said, the date of the Necropolis must be towards the middle of the 6th century or a little later. In dating the scarabs themselves, however, their very quantity must be a most important factor. Clearly we are very far from the solitary examples of Tossal del Moro de Pinyeres or La Solivella, both situated in an archaeological context asserted to be of a different date and used by some authors as an argument against the value of scarabs for dating purposes, on the ground that they must have been in use over a long period.[14] The case of Can Canyís is quite

---

in 1961, not in 1960 as was mistakenly stated on the title-page of the volume of papers concerned.

[10] Vilaseca, Solé y Mañé, *Can Canyís*, p. 12; all those which are scarabs were recovered in squares 4 and 10, which are adjacent. See the photograph of the complete collection on Pl. XXVIII.

[11] Vilaseca, Solé y Mañé, *Can Canyís*, p. 73.

[12] Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 129.

[13] Vilaseca, Solé y Mañé, *Can Canyís*, p. 12.

[14] See Arribas y Wilkins, *Pyrenae*, 5, pp. 207 and 211. Fletcher, *La Solivella*, pp. 54 f., actually maintains that the scarabs were manufactured repetitively and without individual characteristics at every period, a completely gratuitous assertion. We shall see, when we come to deal with Tossal del Moro, Solivella, and Molar, that this supposition is methodologically untenable.

distinct. The number of pieces and the thoroughgoing unity of the assemblage in technique, measurements, and themes represented proves to us that these scarabs and scaraboids reached the coasts of the Peninsula together and having been bought by some native had effectively no time to become dispersed, since he had himself buried with his exotic amulets. A collection of more than fifteen scarabs and scaraboids can hardly be supposed to have been accumulated over a very long time. For that reason I am convinced that its date of final disposal must have been very close to that when it reached the Penedès shore and even to its date of manufacture. In these circumstances the presence of the Horus name of Psammetichus II (594-588) on the reverse of Can Canyís No. 09.12 is of the first importance. It constitutes an irrefutable dating element for the Necropolis and for the whole collection of scarabs and scaraboids whose unity we are emphasizing. It virtually excludes the possibility of a 7th-century dating.[15] Can Canyís No. 09.12 thus conclusively confirms the dating of the Necropolis to the middle of the 6th century[16] and gives us an indication how rapidly the manufactures of Naucratis could reach the West, for in this case they must have taken at most some forty years and perhaps rather less if we consider that they could have been manufactured immediately *after* the death of Psammetichus II.

*Description*: Longitudinally pierced. Dorsal scheme of Type VI. Corresponds to the category of scarabs described by Vercoutter as "of special technique".[17] The legs are marked. The engraving on the reverse is deep. It shows, framed by a line, an antelope or gazelle walking to the right, with a feather in the foremost paw and the sun-disk above.

*Parallels*: The antelope or gazelle with sun-disk above is a type known at Naucratis. The animal may or may not have a feather or other sign in its fore-paw, and may be walking or simply reclining.[18] Several scarabs and scaraboids with a similar design come from Conca in Etruria.[19] I must also mention Can Canyís No. 09.02, which is almost identical with 09.01.

*Conclusion*: Undoubtedly a piece of Egyptian manufacture. The meaning of its design is difficult to interpret. Referring to pendant amulets representing gazelles, Petrie was inclined to interpret them as symbolic of meat offerings.[20] It must not be forgotten on the other hand that the gazelle was one of the

---

[15] A hypothesis suggested by Maluquer, *V SIPP*, p. 248.
[16] Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, pp. 132 f.
[17] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 162.
[18] Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, pl. XXXVII, 15 ff.
[19] Bissing, *St. Etr.*, IX, pp. 329 f. and 335, Nos. 22, 23, 28, 43 and 44; Pl. IL.
[20] Petrie, *Amulets*, p. 20.

Sethian animals to which the Egyptians attributed a special malevolence. In this quality it was shown in the company of snakes, scorpions, and crocodiles on the "stelae with Horus over the crocodiles" from the Late Period. Gazelles also appear on magical ivories of the Middle Kingdom with lions, snakes, and other fantastic denizens of the desert whose maleficent powers had to be combatted by the Spirits Aha (predecessor of Bes) and Thueris. All this inclines me to think that the representation of a gazelle on a scarab obeys the same principle as those of scorpions, for instance, that is to prevent their maleficent influence.[21] However, the association of its representation with the feather — probably *maât* the feather of truth — and Re the sun-disk, and also the resemblance of its representation to those of lions and sphinxes even in Can Canyís itself, that is of creatures regarded in such cases as beneficent, introduces an element of doubt into my previous opinion.

**Can Canyís, No. 09.02** Scarab (Pl. XLIX)

*Material and Colour*: Bright Green Glazed Composition.
*Measurements*: length 1.1 cm., breadth 0.8 cm., height 0.5 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Vendrell Municipal Museum.
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Cf. remarks on No. 09.01.

*Bibliography*: Vilaseca, Solé y Mañé, *Can Canyís*, p. 53, Pl. XXIX, 2. Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 130. Vilaseca, *Reus*, II, Pl. 129.

*Date*: The piece must be from the first half of the 6th century; its archaeological context very little after that. Cf. Nos. 09.01 and 09.12.

*Description*: The characteristics common to all the Can Canyís scarabs and scaraboids derive from the so-called "special technique" and include the deep engraving of the design on the reverse. The scarabs in particular have a Type VI dorsal scheme, together with the more usual longitudinal perforation and marked legs, cf. No. 09.01. Can Canyís No. 09.02 is in rather bad condition, but to judge from what remains the reverse was like that of No. 09.01.

*Parallels*: The theme represented on this scarab is identical with that on 09.01, q.v. for further parallels in Naucratis and Etruria.

*Conclusion*: A piece of Egyptian manufacture. On the doubts surrounding the interpretation of its design of a gazelle with a feather (the *maât* feather?) and the sun-disk cf. No. 09.01.

---

[21] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 60 f., is also of this opinion.

**Can Canyís, No. 09.03** Scarab (Pl. XLIX)

*Material and Colour*: Bright green glazed composition.
*Measurements*: length 1.2 cm., breadth 0.7 cm., height 0.5 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Vendrell Municipal Museum.
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Cf. remarks on No. 09.01.

*Bibliography*: Vilaseca, Solé y Mañé, *Can Canyís*, p. 54, Pl. XXIX, 6. Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 130. Vilaseca, *Reus*, II, Pl. 129.

*Date*: The piece must be of the first half of the 6th century in view of its association with the other scarabs and scaraboids from this Necropolis. The name Psammetichus inscribed on its reverse is generally to be identified with the first Pharaoh of this name. But I think that in this case it could easily refer to Psammetichus II (594-588) since on scarab No. 09.12, found in association with it, we have the Horus name of this Pharaoh. For the general dating of the whole Necropolis cf. Nos. 09.01, 09.02, and 09.12.

*Description*: For general characteristics cf. Nos. 09.01 and 09.02. On the reverse is inscribed the name *Psmṯk*, Manetho's *Psammêtichos*. We have here a defective spelling, since the sign *ṯ* is lacking, but there is nothing special about this, the name being easily identifiable.

*Parallels*: The scarabs with the name Psammetichus are abundantly known in Egypt. Examples can be quoted from the Cairo Museum,[22] and others of course have been recovered at Naucratis,[23] and outside Egypt at Carthage.[24] No. 10.02 from Mas de Mussols, and a piece from Ibiza[25] may also be mentioned.

*Conclusion*: An Egyptian scarab with the name of a Psammetichus, perhaps Psammetichus II.

**Can Canyís, No. 09.04** Scarab (Pl. XLIX)

*Material and Colour*: Bright green glazed composition.
*Measurements*: length 1 cm., breadth 0.8 cm., height 0.5 cm.

---

[22] Newberry, *CGC. Scarab-shaped Seals*, Pl. VI, first figures and especially No. 37287, on which the *ṯ* sign and the handle of the *k* sign are similarly lacking.

[23] Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, Pl. XXXVII, 81 and Pl. XXXVIII, 183. Cf. also Petrie, *Scarabs*, Pl. LV, 29 ff.

[24] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 76, states that this name has been found on five pieces from Carthage. A scaraboid from Vulci, in Etruria, may also show the name Psammetichus: Bissing, *St. Etr.*, VI, Pl. XXII, 3 a-b.

[25] Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, p. 108, No. 663.

*Place of Keeping*: Vendrell Municipal Museum.
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Cf. remarks on Can Canyís No. 09.01.

*Bibliography*: Vilaseca, Solé y Mañé, *Can Canyís*, pp. 53 ff. and 73, Pl. XXIX, 5. Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 130. Vilaseca, *Reus*, II, Pl. 129.

*Date*: The motif represented on the reverse of this scarab tends to be dated to the reign of Psammetichus I. But No. 09.04 must be dated almost without hesitation to the reign of Psammetichus II in view of its association in Can Canyís with scarabs and scaraboids bearing the names of this Pharaoh. For the date of its archaeological context (middle of 6th century) cf. Nos. 09.01, 09.02, and 09.12.

*Description*: For general characteristics cf. Nos. 09.01 and 09.02. On the reverse is a reclining lion facing right, with the sun-disk above it, the whole design being bordered with a line.

*Parallels*: Petrie gave detailed attention to this group, which he considered a title of Psammetichus I.[26] The type is known from Naucratis,[27] Carthage,[28] and Etruria,[29] several of them manufactured with the typical Naucratis technique. In the Peninsula we can quote parallels from Can Canyís itself, No. 09.08 and the scaraboid No. 09.14, as also the Solivella scarab, No. 13.01.

*Conclusion*: Vercoutter accepted Petrie's interpretation of this group of signs as an unknown title of Psammetichus I.[30] All the same, there is no possible reading for this title, as Vercoutter himself acknowledges. For my part, I prefer to see here a spelling of the sun god Re, identified from ancient times with a lion. In the late period Re could be written with the help of the sign represented by a reclining lion, an additional reason being the phonetic similarity in Egyptian between the words sun (*R'*) and lion (*Rw*).[31] The scarab is evidently Egyptian.

**Can Canyís, No. 09.05** Scarab (Pl. XLIX)

*Material and Colour*: Bright green glazed composition.
*Measurements*: length 1.1 cm., breadth 0.7 cm., height 0.5 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Vendrell Municipal Museum.
*Circumstances of Discovery*: See under Can Canyís No. 09.01.

[26] Petrie, *Scarabs*, Pl. LV, 4 ff.
[27] Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, Pl. XXXVII, 42 f.
[28] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 95 f. (Nos. 7 and 8), 162 f. (Nos. 269-272).
[29] Bissing, *St. Etr.*, IX, p. 333 (Nos. 30 and 31), Pl. IL: scarabs from Conca.
[30] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 57 f., 95 f., 162 f.
[31] Wit, *Le rôle*, pp. 138 ff. and especially p. 142.

*Bibliography*: Vilaseca, Solé y Mañé, *Can Canyis*, pp. 53 f. and 73, Pl. XXIX, 4. Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 131. Vilaseca, *Reus*, II, Pl. 129.

*Date*: First half of 6th century. Cf. Nos. 09.01, 09.02, and 09.12.

*Description*: For general characteristics cf. Nos. 09.01 and 09.02. On the reverse is an animal moving to the right with the sun-disk above it. The animal has a basically lion-like appearance but on this example the head has two large ears which recall those of Seth's animal.

*Parallels*: The same animal, though without ears, and in the same posture, has been found on scarabs from Naucratis and in one case at least in the scarab centre on that site.[32] Several examples can be cited also from Carthage,[33] and Etruria,[34] and in addition Mas de Mussols No. 10.03.

*Conclusion*: Clearly a scarab manufactured at Naucratis and therefore Egyptian. The representation must probably be interpreted as a lion despite the ears since the animal has neither the tail nor the posture of the strange creature which represented Seth.

**Can Canyís, No. 09.06** Scarab

*Material and Colour*: Bright green glazed composition.

*Measurements*: length 1.3 cm., breadth 0.7 cm., height 0.7 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Vendrell Municipal Museum.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: see under No. 09.01.

*Bibliography*: Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 131.

*Date*: First half of 6th century. Cf. Nos. 09.01, 09.02, and 09.12.

*Description*: For general characteristics cf. Nos. 09.01 and 09.02. The reverse is in very bad condition, so that it is impossible to make out the engraving.

*Parallels*: In this circumstances it is imposible to found any.

*Conclusion*: In all probability an Egyptian scarab like its fellows from Can Canyís.

---

[32] Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, Pl. XXXVII, 34 ff.

[33] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 163 f.

[34] Bissing, *St. Etr.*, IX, pp. 333, 335 (Nos. 29, 32, 41 and 42), Pl. IL: scarabs found at Conca.

**Can Canyís, No. 09.07** Scarab (Pl. XLIX)

*Material and Colour*: Bright green glazed composition.
*Measurements*: length 1.3 cm., breadth 1 cm., height 0.6 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Vendrell Municipal Museum.
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Cf. remarks on No. 09.01.

*Bibliography*: Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 131.

*Date*: First half of 6th century. Cf. Nos. 09.01, 09.02, and 09.12. We recall that the name of Amenhotep III is frequent on Saite scarabs. A scarab with an identical inscription from Montlaurès has been dated by its archaeological context to the 6th century.[35]

*Description*: For general characteristics cf. Nos. 09.01 and 09.02. The reverse is in bad condition, but the name *Nb-M3ʿ t-Rʿ*, that is, the *praenomen* or "King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt" name of Amenhotep III, can be read on it.

*Parallels*: Scarabs with the "King-of-Upper-and-Lower-Egypt" name of Amenhotep III are very numerous from his reign onward[36] and continue into the Late Period.[37] From Carthage an almost identical example can be cited, No. 308.[38] From the Peninsula and with the *praenomen* of Amenhotep III, the Cortijo de las Sombras scarab, No. 25.01, and that from the bottom of the Ría de Huelva[39] may be mentioned. Of particular interest for its geographical proximity and for having the same inscription as No. 09.07 is the example already quoted from Montlaurès (Narbonne) in Western Languedoc, datable by its context to the 6th century,[40] No. 03.04.

*Conclusion*: Egyptian scarab. Judging by the abundance of late-period scarabs showing the name of Amenhotep III we must believe that the ancient Egyptians classed this Pharaoh among those divinities with the most efficacious protective powers. We know also from the Mes inscription that Amenhotep III came to be considered as an oracle-god.[41]

[35] Solier et Giry, *Narbonne*, I, pp. 94 f., No. 03.04 of this catalogue.
[36] Newberry, *CGC. Scarab-shaped seals*, Pl. IV, lower half, and in particular No. 36217. Petrie, *Scarabs*, Pl. XXXI ff.
[37] Cf. Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 52.
[38] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 170.
[39] García y Bellido, *BRAH*, CLXVI, pp. 61 f.
[40] Solier et Giry, *Narbonne*, I, pp. 94 f., fig. 10.
[41] Cf. Hari, *CdE*, XLVII, 93-94, p. 143, who in this way seeks to justify the view that the large number of scarabs with the name of Amenhotep III were manufactured after his death. This author moreover shows himself sceptical about giving cryptographic significance to the *praenomina* of Amenhotep III (*Nb-mʿt-Rʿ*) and Thutmosis III (*Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ*).

**Can Canyís, No. 09.08** Scarab (Pl. XLIX)

*Material and Colour*: Bright green glazed composition.
*Measurements*: length 1.2 cm., breadth 0.8 cm., height 0.6 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Vendrell Municipal Museum.
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Cf. remarks on No. 09.01.

*Bibliography*: Vilaseca, Solé y Mañé, *Can Canyís*, pp. 53 f. and 73, Pl. XXIX, 3. Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 131. Vilaseca, *Reus*, II, Pl. 129.

*Date*: First half of the 6th century. Cf. Nos. 09.01, 09.02, and 09.12. For the dating of this particular motif cf. also No. 09.04.

*Description*: For general characteristics cf. Nos. 09.01 and 09.02. The design on the reverse is like that of No. 09.04 with the reclining lion facing right and the sun-disk above, but is in bad condition.

*Parallels*: Cf. remarks on No. 09.04.

*Conclusion*: Egyptian scarab; on the subject of the representation cf. No. 09.04.

**Can Canyís, No. 09.09** Scarab (Pl. XLIX)

*Material and Colour*: Bright green glazed composition.
*Measurements*: length 1.3 cm., breadth 1 cm., height 0.7 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Vendrell Municipal Museum.
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Cf. remarks on No. 09.01.

*Bibliography*: Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 131.

*Date*: First half of 6th century. Cf. Nos. 09.01, 09.02, and 09.12.

*Description*: For general characteristics, cf. Nos. 09.01 and 09.02. The reverse of this scarab has a hieroglyphic inscription very difficult to read, almost half of it being defaced. It may perhaps be read either as *ʿImn-Rʿ nb*, or as *imꜣḫ n Ḫnsw*.

*Parallels*: In either case the text is well attested by scarabs found in Egypt.[42]

*Conclusion*: In the first case we read: "The Lord is Amun-Re"; in the second: "imakh (pensioner?) of Khonsu". Whatever the correct reading, the scarab is Egyptian.

---

[42] For the first reading cf. Newberry, *CGC. Scarab-shaped seals*, Pl. VIII with numerous examples. For the second cf. Newberry, *CGC., Scarab-shaped Seals*, Pl. X, No. 36914, all from the Cairo Museum.

**Can Canyís, No. 09.10** Scaraboid (Pl. XLIX)

*Material and Colour*: Bright green glazed composition.
*Measurements*; diameter 1.3 cm., height 0.7 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Vendrell Municipal Museum.
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Cf. remarks on No. 09.01.

*Bibliography*: Vilaseca, Solé y Mañé, *Can Canyís*, p. 54, Pl. XXX, 1. Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 131.

*Date*: First half of 6th century. Cf. Nos. 09.01, 09.02, and 09.12.

*Description*: Discoid button convex on the obverse, which is undecorated; diametrically pierced. The reverse is engraved with the same technique as the scarabs and bears the representation of a sphinx moving to the right, with bearded human head and tail curled upwards. Above it is a sign much defaced, apparently the "sign of life" *ʿnḫ*, or else the wing of the sphinx, and below it the sign *nb*, "lord".

*Parallels*: The type of androcephalous sphinx with beard and no wings moving to the right is known from Naucratis.[43] If it is in fact winged, a parallel could be cited from Etruria,[44] and in addition No. 10.04 from Mas de Mussols.

*Conclusion*: A piece of Egyptian manufacture, in all probability from Naucratis.[45] The sphinx in Egypt is a symbol of royalty.

**Can Canyís, No. 09.11** Scaraboid (Pl. XLIX)

*Material and Colour*: Bright green glazed composition.
*Measurements*: diameter 1.2 cm., height 0.6 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Vendrell Municipal Museum.
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Cf. remarks on No. 09.01.

*Bibliography*: Vilaseca, Solé y Mañé, *Can Canyís*, p. 54, Pl. XXXI, 1. Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 131.

*Date*: First half of the 6th century. Cf. Nos. 09.01, 09.02 and 09.12.

*Description*: The general characteristics of all the discoidal button-scaraboids found at Can Canyís are the same as those of No. 09.10. On the reverse of No. 09.11 is a winged sphinx seated on its hindquarters and facing right, with a falcon's head. Between its forepaws it holds a

[43] Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, Pl. XXXVII, 29.
[44] Bissing, *St. Etr.*, IX, p. 336 (No. 50), Pl. IL: scarab from Conca.
[45] About the discoid buttons in general, see Bissing, *St. Etr.*, IX, pp. 330 ff.

*uraeus*. Behind it are three small illegible vertical signs, undoubtedly the name of some king.

*Parallels*: The falcon-headed seated winged sphinx is very well attested at Naucratis[46] and in Carthage, where we can mention a scaraboid, No. 376, in which the sphinx is associated with a royal cartouche.[47] On the Tossal del Moro scaraboid, No. 12.01, we have a sphinx seated in the same position but with both wings outspread and a royal name written vertically behind it.

*Conclusion*: Egyptian scaraboid with the representation of a winged sphinx, symbol of a Pharaoh whose name is written behind it in three small illegible signs. On the identity of this sphinx with a fabulous animal calles *seref* and attested at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom from Beni Hassan and el-Bersha, see my conclusions on Empúries No. 07.12.

**Can Canyís, No. 09.12** Scaraboid (Pl. XLIX)

*Material and Colour*: Bright green glazed composition.
*Measurements*: diameter 1.2 cm., height 0.5 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Vendrell Municipal Museum.
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Cf. remarks on No. 09.01.

*Bibliography*: Vilaseca, Solé y Mañé, *Can Canyís*, p. 54, Pl. XXXI, 2. Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, pp. 132 f.

*Date*: The presence of the Horus name of Psammetichus II on the reverse of this scaraboid confirms and is the main ground for the dating of the manufacture of the whole collection of scarabs and scaraboids from Can Canyís to the first half of the 6th century. This dating has already been discussed in connection with Scarab No. 09.01. Scaraboid No. 09.12 from Can Canyís must in fact have been manufactured during the reign of Psammetichus II (594-588) or, if by any chance after it, probably immediately after the king's death and in any case before the end of the XXVIth Dynasty in 525 B.C. In view of their similarity all the remaining scarabs and scaraboids of Can Canyís must evidently have been manufactured at the same time and in the same workshop as No. 09.12, which thus gives us the date of the whole assemblage. For the dating of the Necropolis and

[46] Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, Pl. XXXVII, 20, 21, 22, 23. Cf. also Gardner, *Naukratis*, II, Pl. XVIII, 16 and 57, though these have no exact provenance indicated.
[47] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 178.

therefore of the archaeological context of this scaraboid to the middle of the 6th century, cf. also No. 09.01.[48]

*Description*: For general characteristics cf. Nos. 09.10 and 09.11. On the reverse, slightly fractured on the left side, is a hieroglyphic inscription with the Horus name of Psammetichus II, *Ḥr-mnḫ(-ib)* or *Ḥr-mn-Rˁ*, both variants of the name being possible in this case. The inscription is read from right to left. Behind the falcon *Ḥr*, which faces right, we have the *mn* sign above and a round sign below, which ought in principle to be the *ḫ*, in which case we should have to understand the *ib* sign. This defective spelling, however, is very common, especially on scarabs, and Gauthier notes in some of these the substitution for the *ḫ* sign of the sun-disk *Rˁ*, which in some cases may even be accompanied in its turn by the sign *ib*.[49]

*Parallels*: Scarabs with the Horus name of Psammetichus II are particularly numerous in Egypt and have a number of orthographic variants.[50] Their presence is attested at Naucratis,[51] in Carthage,[52] and in Etruria.[53] In the Peninsula we may mention the scaraboid No. 12.01 from Tossal del Moro, and perhaps the La Joya scarab.[54]

*Conclusion*: Egyptian scarab with the name of Psammetichus II; must have been manufactured during the reign of this Pharaoh or in any case before the end of the XXVIth Dynasty, in 525. If it was really manufactured after the death of this king, which in itself is not very probable, I think it must in any case have been very little after, so that we should be justified in dating the assemblage of Can Canyís Necropolis to the first half of the 6th century. It seems unlikely that the manufacture of scarabs with the Horus name of Psammetichus II continued after his death.

**Can Canyís, No. 09.13** Scaraboid (Pl. XLIX)

*Material and Colour*: Bright green glazed composition.
*Measurements*: diameter 1.1 cm., height 0.5 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Vendrell Municipal Museum.
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Cf. remarks on No. 09.01.

---

[48] Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 133.
[49] Gauthier, *LR*, IV, p. 97, XX. Cf. Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 55.
[50] Gauthier, *LR.*, IV, p. 97, XX. Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 55. Petrie, *Scarabs*, Pl. LVI, 26.3. Hall, *Catalogue*, I, pp. 253 ff.
[51] Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, Pl. XXXVII, 47-50.
[52] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 77.
[53] Bissing, *St. Etr.*, IX, p. 334 (No. 33), Pl. IL: scarab from Conca.
[54] Gamer-Wallert, *MMitt.*, 14, pp. 121 ff.

*Bibliography*: Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 132.

*Date*: First half of 6th century. Cf. Nos. 09.01, 09.02, and 09.12.

*Description*: For general characteristics, cf. Nos. 09.10 and 09.11. The engraving on the reverse of this piece is in very bad condition and it is impossible to say what it represents.

*Parallels*: Impossible to say.

*Conclusion*: Must undoubtedly be an Egyptian scaraboid manufactured at Naucratis, like the other pieces from the Necropolis.

**Can Canyís, No. 09.14** Scaraboid (Pl. XLIX)

*Material and Colour*: Bright green glazed composition.

*Measurements*: diameter 1.2 cm., height 0.6 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Vendrell Municipal Museum.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Cf. remarks on No. 09.01.

*Bibliography*: Vilaseca, Solé y Mañé, *Can Canyís*, pp. 54 and 73, Pl. XXX, 2. Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 132.

*Date*: First half of 6th century. Cf. Nos. 09.01, 09.02, and 09.12.

*Description*: For general characteristics cf. Nos. 09.10 and 09.11. On the reverse is a reclining lion facing right, with the feather *M3't* between its forepaws and the sun-disk above. The lion rests on a sort of elongated podium, possibly the hieroglyphic sign for "ground".

*Parallels*: For the theme of the reclining lion with sun-disk I have already indicated parallels with reference to the scarab Can Canyís No. 09.04. For the lion holding a feather between its paws we may also cite examples from Naucratis,[55] from Carthage,[56] and from Etruria,[57] and also that from Solivella, No. 13.01 in this catalogue.

*Conclusion*: An Egyptian piece. On the meaning of its design cf. No. 09.04.

**Can Canyís, No. 09.15** Scaraboid (Pl. XLIX)

*Material and Colour*: Bright green glazed composition.

*Measurements*: diameter 1.1 cm., height 0.6 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Vendrell Municipal Museum.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Cf. remarks on No. 09.01. This piece was found in two fragments.

---

[55] Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, Pl. XXXVII, 45.

[56] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 162, No. 269 (doubtful), and 202 No. 480.

[57] Bissing, *St. Etr.*, IX, p. 333 (No. 30), Pl. IL: scarab from Conca.

*Bibliography*: Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 132.

*Date*: First half of 6th century. Cf. Nos. 09.01, 09.02, and 09.12.

*Description*: This piece has been put together from the two fragments found. For its general characteristics as a scaraboid, cf. Nos. 09.10 and 09.11. The design on the reverse is much worn and virtually illegible.

*Parallels*: Nothing to be said on this head.

*Conclusion*: In all probability a piece of Egyptian manufacture.

## 9a. KESE (?), TARRAGONA

On the supposed find of an Egyptian tomb, see Vol. I, pp. 18ff.

## 10. MAS DE MUSSOLS. LA PALMA, TORTOSA (TARRAGONA)

This is a cremation necropolis of "urnfield" type, originally discovered in 1966 by a group of Amposta amateurs, who began to excavate it in an irregular fashion. Towards the end of that year news of the find reached Professor Maluquer de Motes, and he, with a team from Barcelona University, was able to excavate, in the course of a single campaign at the end of 1966, only a part of the Necropolis, besides cleaning up the part "excavated" by the discoverers.

The Necropolis is situated on land overlooking the River Ebro at only a very small distance from it, on the opposite bank to that on which the town of Amposta stands and only a little way above it.

The cremation urns are manufactured by wheel and are of globular type, with perforated lugs and painted bands. The male and female burials are easily distinguished from one another by the offerings placed in them, weapons in the male ones, a spindle-whorl and objects of personal adornment in the others. The imported objects are of considerable interest – Phoenician grey ware in various forms, Corinthian aryballoi of yellow composition, metal products like fibulae and small chains, besides the scarabs we shall be studying here. There were also hand-made imitations of imported pottery.[1]

No settlement is at present known to which this Necropolis may have belonged.

The material from this Necropolis, like that from the neighbouring Mianes Necropolis, on the other side of the Ebro, which was discovered and

[1] Maluquer, *V SIPP*, pp. 248 f.

excavated in 1970 in similar circumstances, is still being studied by Professor Maluquer, whose published account of it is therefore still awaited.

In a preliminary notice, however, Maluquer thinks it possible to propose a date towards the end of the 7th century for the Necropolis. He bases this dating on the presence of a Phoenician vessel of grey ware analogous to finds at Mogador and in the Tartessus area.[2] We must not, however, forget the parallelism of the scarabs from this Necropolis with those found at Can Canyís, which as we have seen have a dating in no case earlier than Psammetichus II (594-588).[3]

That the Necropolis was in use during the 6th century has just been confirmed by the presence there of an Ionian *vernis noir* cup, which can be dated to the middle of that century.[4]

In the Mas de Mussols Necropolis 4 scarabs and 1 scaraboid have come to light.[5]

*Bibliography*

J. Maluquer de Motes, *Los fenicios en Cataluña*, in *Tartessos y sus problemas. V Symposium Internacional de Prehistoria Peninsular. Jerez de la Frontera, Septiembre de 1968*, Publicaciones Eventuales No. 13, Barcelona, 1969, pp. 241 ff.

A. Arribas y J. Wilkins, *La necrópolis fenicia del Cortijo de las Sombras (Frigiliana, Málaga)*, in *Pyrenae*, 5, Barcelona, 1969, pp. 185 ff.

Josep Padró i Parcerisa, *A propósito del escarabeo de la Solivella (Alcalá de Xivert, Castellón), y de otras piezas egipcias de la zona del Bajo Ebro*, in *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueologia Castellonense*, 1, Castellón de la Plana, 1974, pp. 71-78.

**Mas de Mussols, No. 10.01** Scarab (Pls. L and LI)

*Material and Colour*: Hard yellowish-white glazed composition with blue-grey burnish partly preserved.

*Measurements*: length 1.7 cm., breadth 1.2 cm., height 0.7 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Institute of Archaeology and Prehistory in the University of Barcelona.[6]

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Came to light in course of excavations carried out by the Amposta amateur group, unfortunately not under very

[2] Maluquer, *V SIPP*, p. 248.

[3] Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 133.

[4] Sanmartí, *Ampurias*, 35, p. 233.

[5] Dr. J. Maluquer de Motes asked me to do a study of this material. This has already been handed in and is due to be published as part of the monograph the professor is preparing on the deposit. I should like to thank him for the opportunity he has given me of studying these pieces.

[6] The Mas de Mussols Necropolis material is under study by Professor Maluquer de Motes and I should like to thank him for having enabled me to study the scarabs and scaraboid which formed part of it. The final publication will include an appendix on this subject.

controlled conditions. It is however supposed that it must have come from the same tomb as the remaining scarabs and scaraboid and that they must all have formed part of a single necklace.

*Bibliography*: Maluquer, *V SIPP*, Pl. II. Padró, *CPAC*, 1, pp. 71, 78.

*Date*: In Maluquer's opinion the Necropolis with all its finds should be dated to the end of the 7th century;[7] but I have already indicated above that the parallelism of the collection of scarabs with the Can Canyís collection leads me to prefer a date within the 6th century.

*Description*: In a very good state of preservation. Longitudinally pierced. Dorsal scheme corresponding to Type II, with the thorax merely indicated and without elytra. Legs indicated schematically. On the reverse is a complex scene very carefully engraved. Above the sign *nb* is a sphinx with human head reclining so as to face right, before it a *uraeus* and over its head the double feather of Maât. Above and behind the sphinx a falcon, also facing right, makes the sign of protection, with wings spread, over the sphinx. Between the falcon's wings a talon sticks out. Before the falcon and above the double *maât* feather a tiny *udjat* eye can be conjectured, hard to make out. The whole scene is framed by a line.

*Parallels*: I have not been able to find any exact parallel for this scene. On Cairo Museum No. 36147 we see a falcon, very badly done, protecting a sphinx likewise crowned with a double *maât* feather. Above it the *praenomen* of Thutmosis III, Menkheperre. The work is very mediocre.[8] On No. 36324 a falcon or winged *uraeus* is protecting the god Amun, with a talon appearing between its spread wings.[9] An interesting comparison is afforded by No. 36326 in which a falcon remarkably like ours, even to the detail of the talon, is protecting a group of hieroglyphic signs. However, all these parallels belong to the New Kingdom. On the other hand, in Newberry's opinion the scarabs of dorsal scheme Type II, that is to say with merely the thorax indicated and no elytra, must belong to the Hyksos era, surviving through the XVIIIth Dynasty.[10] Vercoutter, however, has identified some glazed composition scarabs with this dorsal scheme in Carthage (5 in all),[11] dated by him to the 7th-6th centuries,[12] scarabs of very good technique when they

[7] Maluquer, *V SIPP*, p. 248.
[8] Newberry, *CGC. Scarab-shaped seals*, Pl. III.
[9] Newberry, *CGC. Scarab-shaped seals*, Pl. IX.
[10] Newberry, *Scarabs*, pp. 72 ff.
[11] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 72.
[12] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 132 No. 153, 175.

have an inscription. Since on the other hand occasional scenes relatively similar to ours are attested in Carthage and Etruria,[13] there is no room for doubt that these scarabs were revived in the Saite Period, which would not be at all unusual in view of the archaizing tendencies of that period in Egypt.

*Conclusion*: Scarab manufactured in Egypt, probably in the Saite Period, in imitation of models from the Hyksos era and the beginning of the New Kingdom. The design on the reverse symbolizes the Pharaoh protected by Horus, an iconographic theme much favoured by Egyptian art and which can already be seen in a statue of Chephren, a king of the Old Kingdom (IVth Dynasty).

**Mas de Mussols, No. 10.02** Scarab (Pls. L and LI)

*Material and Colour*: Hard green glazed composition with remnants of blue burnish.

*Measurements*: length 1.2 cm., breadth 1.0 cm., height 0.7 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Institute of Archaeology and Prehistory in the University of Barcelona.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Like the Scarabs Nos. 10.01 and 10.04 and the scaraboid 10.05, was found under not very controlled conditions in the course of "excavations" by the Amposta amateurs. It must have lain in the same burial and formed part of the same necklace as the rest of the scarabs and the scaraboid.

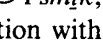
*Bibliography*: Maluquer, *V SIPP*, p. 248, Pl. II. Padró, *CPAC*, 1, pp. 71 f.

*Date*: For the date of the Necropolis proposed by Maluquer (7th century)[14] and a discussion of it cf. above. I must add that on this scarab we have the name Psammetichus, which could in principle refer to any one of the three pharaohs of the XXVIth Dynasty who bore it. The most popular of the three was Psammetichus I, who reigned from 663 to 609. But scarabs with the name Psammetichus continued to be manufactured during the whole Saite Period, that is throughout the 7th-6th centuries, and in fact we have seen at Can Canyís a scarab almost identical with this, No. 09.03, which must be dated by its archaeological context to the 6th century, so that I am inclined

[13] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 153 No. 240 in particular, with a sphinx protected by a winged *uraeus* resting on it. For Etruria Bissing, *St. Etr.*, VII, pp. 377 ff., Pl. XXII, No. 20, a scarab from Marsiliana d'Albenga with a sphinx rather similar in style to that of Mas de Mussols, and No. 22, a scarab of the same provenance and with a falcon very like ours.

[14] Maluquer, *V SIPP*, p. 248.

to see in it the *nomen* of Psammetichus II (594-588), especially as on a scaraboid of the same deposit, No. 09.12, we have documentation of the Horus name of this Pharaoh and I have already emphasized the profound unity of this assemblage.[15] The resemblance of the Can Canyís collection of scarabs and scaraboids with that of Mas de Mussols, in particular Nos. 10.02, 10.03, and 10.04 of the latter deposit with the characteristic "special technique" defined by Vercoutter,[16] and more especially the identity of Can Canyís No. 09.03 with Mas de Mussols No. 10.02, seem to me sufficient reasons to justify the dating of this Necropolis, or at least the scarabs deposited in it, to the beginning of the 6th century.

*Description*: Much damaged by the process of cremation. Longitudinally pierced. Condition too bad to allow the dorsal scheme to be determined. The legs are only roughly indicated. On the reverse, also in bad condition, the name  *Psmṯk*, Psammetichus, can be read. I have already pointed out, in connection with scarab No. 09.03, that the defective spelling of this royal name is not at all unusual. The surprising thing in fact is that the name should be spelt out at all fully on scarabs. Vercoutter, for instance, records the name on Carthaginian scaraboids from Douïmès with only the initial signs written.[17]

*Parallels*: Cf. those cited for the Can Canyís scaraboid No. 09.03, with a similar inscription.

*Conclusion*: Piece of Egyptian manufacture, with the name of a king Psammetichus, possibly Psammetichus II, like Can Canyís No. 09.03.

**Mas de Mussols, No. 10.03** Scarab (Pls. L and LI)

*Material and Colour*: Hard glazed composition of greenish colour with remnants of blue burnish.

*Measurements*: length 1.3 cm., breadth 0.9 cm., height 0.6 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Institute of Archaeology and Prehistory in the University of Barcelona.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found by V. Baldellou, member of Dr. Maluquer de Motes' team, in the course of the professor's campaign, while sieving the soil left by the "excavation" of the Amposta amateurs. It is supposed that it must have come from the same tomb as the remaining scarabs and scaraboid, having come to light in the same sector.

---

[15] Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, pp. 129 ff.

[16] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 162.

[17] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 206 f., Nos. 510-512.

*Bibliography*: Maluquer, *V SIPP*, p. 248, Pl. II. Padró, *CPAC*, 1, pp. 71 f.

*Date*: For the 7th century dating of the Necropolis by Maluquer and my preference for the 6th century see the foregoing.

*Description*: Good state of preservation. Longitudinally pierced. Dorsal scheme Type VI, with thorax and elytra marked and a V on each wing. Legs very perfunctorily indicated. On the reverse, deeply engraved, an animal which should be a lion, moving right, with lifted tail and a long curved snout. In appearance this animal reminds us of scarab No. 09.05 from Can Canyís, though this time without the ears. Above it is the sun-disk and in front a sign difficult to make out, perhaps a lotus flower if Vercoutter is to be believed.[18]

*Parallels*: For this example I shall quote only one parallel, from Naucratis, published by Gardner.[19] The likeness between the two pieces is so complete, both in the absolutely identical posture and form of the animal, in the sun-disk and especially the curious elongated sign (the lotus flower) in front of the lion, and also in the measurements of the two scarabs, as to leave no possibility of doubt that they were manufactured in the same workshop.

*Conclusion*: For this scarab, therefore, we have absolute proof that pieces of this type come from Naucratis and that this one was manufactured in the scarab centre of the Nile Delta city.

**Mas de Mussols, No. 10.04** Scarab (Pls. L and LI)

*Material and Colour*: Hard glazed composition of green colour.

*Measurements*: length 1.3 cm., breadth 1.0 cm., height 0.7 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Institute of Archaeology and Prehistory in the University of Barcelona.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found by the Amposta group of amateurs under not very well controlled conditions in the course of their "excavations", like scarabs Nos. 10.01 and 10.02 and the scaraboid No. 10.05. It must have lain in the same burial and formed part of the same necklace as the remaining Egyptian pieces at Mas de Mussols, here described.

*Bibliography*: Maluquer, *V SIPP*, p. 248, Pl. II. Padró, *CPAC*, 1, p. 71.

*Date*: Maluquer dates the Necropolis to the end of the 7th century but I prefer a 6th-century dating for the scarabs, cf. above.

---

[18] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 126, No. 131.

[19] Gardner, *Naukratis*, II, Pl. XVIII, 8.

*Description*: Good state of preservation. Longitudinally pierced. Type V dorsal scheme, with rounded thorax and elytra marked. Legs well indicated. On the reverse, deeply engraved, a winged sphinx with human head moving right. The head, uncovered, wears the artificial beard of gods and pharaohs. The tail is raised.

*Parallels*: There are numerous parallels for the design on the reverse of this scarab, both in Naucratis[20] and in Carthage[21] and in Etruria.[22] On the reverse of the scaraboid No. 09.10, from Can Canyís, is an androcephalous sphinx very like that of Mas de Mussols, apparently unwinged, though possibly the traces of a sign much defaced above it may correspond to a wing of the sphinx.

*Conclusion*: Egyptian scarab, manufactured in all probability at Naucratis.

**Mas de Mussols, No. 10.05** Scaraboid (Pls. L and LI)

*Material and Colour*: Brittle glazed composition of pale yellow colour with remains of grey burnish.

*Measurements*: diameter 1.3 cm., height 0.6 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Institute of Archaeology and Prehistory in the University of Barcelona.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found by the Amposta group of amateurs during their "excavations", like scarabs Nos. 10.01, 10.02 and 10.04. Must have belonged to the same burial.

*Bibliography*: Maluquer, *V SIPP*, Pl. II. Padró, *CPAC*, 1, p. 71.

*Date*: Maluquer dates the Necropolis to the end of the 7th century; I prefer a 6th-century date for the scarabs and scaraboid, cf. above.

*Description*: Has some cracks. Diametrically pierced. Discoid button-seal smooth and rounded on the obverse. The reverse is decorated with five tangent circles, each with a central point.

*Parallels*: This type of decoration on scaraboids is well attested at Naucratis.[23] At Carthage scarab No. 318 is decorated on the reverse with exactly the same motif,[24] and from Etruria we have two scaraboids similarly

[20] Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, Pl. XXXVII, 28, 30.
[21] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 164 f., Nos. 281-286.
[22] Bissing, *St. Etr.*, IX, p. 336, Pl. IL, No. 50.
[23] Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, Pl. XXXVII, 1-3. Gardner, *Naukratis*, II, Pl. XVIII, 1-2.
[24] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 172, Pl. IX.

decorated.[25] Let us remember on the other hand that the six scaraboids from Can Canyís, Nos. 09.10 to 09.15, are all discoid button-seals.

*Conclusion*: Egyptian scaraboid manufactured probably at Naucratis. We do not know the significance of the circles, possibly ornamental motifs.

## 10a. TORTOSA (TARRAGONA)[1]

From the neighbourhood of Tortosa comes one scarab, at present lost, whose exact place of discovery is unknown to me. We can be practically certain, however, of its provenance in Tortosa since it belonged to the Mestre i Noé Collection of archaeological material recovered in the country round about this city.[2] It was probably found in some ancient settlement or necropolis of the type now well known at the mouth of the Ebro.

*Bibliography*

M. Jover Flix, *Tortosa. Testimonio histórico-gráfico*, Tortosa, 1973.

Josep Padró i Parcerisa, *A propósito del escarabeo de la Solivella (Alcalà de Xivert, Castellón), y de otras piezas egipcias de la zona del Bajo Ebro*, in *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueologia Castellonense*, 1, Castellón de la Plana, 1974, pp. 71-78.

**Tortosa, No. 10.51** Scarab (Pl. LII)

*Material and Colour*: Glazed composition.[3]

*Measurements*: Unknown.

*Place of Keeping*: Lost. Belonged to the Mestre i Noé Collection and was deposited at the Tortosa Municipal Museum, disappearing in the Civil War period, between the years 1936 and 1939.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Unknown. However, the fact of its having formed part of the Mestre i Noé Collection assures us that it must have been found in the neighbourhood of Tortosa, perhaps in some settlement or necropolis.[4]

---

[25] Bissing, *St. Etr.*, IX, pp. 329 and 334, Pl. IL, Nos. 21 and 34.

[1] Exact spot in the town's immediate neighbourhood undetermined.

[2] I thank my fellow student T. Gimeno for drawing my attention to the existence of this piece.

[3] The only usable source for this scarab is an old photograph on which are assembled various pieces of the Mestre i Noé Collection deposited in the Tortosa Museum before the Civil War. The photograph was recently published by Jover, *Tortosa*, p. 114, and the reverse of this scarab can be seen on it. The style of the engraving assures us that it is in fact a glazed composition scarab.

[4] I thank Prof. T. Gimeno for his information about the Mestre i Noé Collection as also for having shown me the photograph of the piece.

*Bibliography*: Jover, *Tortosa*, p. 114. Padró, *CPAC*, 1, pp. 71, 77f., fig. 1, 3.

*Date*: 7th-6th centuries.

*Description*: Dorsal scheme unknown. Longitudinally pierced.[5] Engraved on the reverse and surrounded by a line, is a standing personage facing right, with an animal's head, perhaps a crocodile's. Before the personage is a sacred beetle and below it a *uraeus*, the lower part of which sticks out of the front of the ample robe worn by the personage. Below this scene is the classic sign *nb*.

*Parallels*: Scarabs with a similar inscription are fairly numerous in Egypt. Cairo Museum Nos. 36335 and 36477 show a personage identical with ours;[6] Nos. 36530 and 36738 have a similar personage, though interpreted as falcon-headed, with a *uraeus* which sticks out of his robe in front exactly like the Tortosan example.[7]

*Conclusion*: The parallels quoted from Egypt are dated in principle to the Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom, although we are given to understand that they may be later. This is evidently the case with the Tortosa piece, the stylistic resemblance of which to scarab No. 10.01 from Mas de Mussols I should like to emphasize.[8] The personage depicted on our scarab is undoubtedly Sobek, the god of Fayum, and the piece is without any doubt of Egyptian manufacture. It must have been manufactured in the Saite Period in imitation of Hyksos or New Kingdom models as was frequently done. In style this piece does not come from Naucratis and is datable *a priori* to the 7th-6th centuries. No doubt it was recovered in some settlement or necropolis near to Tortosa and thus provides one more addition to the already extensive "dossier" of pre-5th-century pieces from the area of the lower Ebro.[9]

## 11. JEBUT. SOSES (LÉRIDA)

Jebut is an Iberian settlement of the Ilergetae tribe, situated on a hillock on the right bank of the River Segre, about 20 km. of its course

---

[5] On the photograph the piece is spiked on a long needle planted in a shelf and holding the scarab up vertically.

[6] Newberry, *CGC. Scarab-shaped Seals*, pp. 85 and 120, Pl. VII.

[7] Newberry, *CGC. Scarab-shaped Seals*, pp. 133 and 185, Pl. VII. Other similar scarabs with similar personages and various associations of deities, *uraeus*, and beetles may be seen on this same Pl. VII.

[8] Cf. my observations on this piece.

[9] Sanmartí, *Ampurias*, 35, pp. 221 ff., where may be seen objects from this area imported from the east but of non-Egyptian provenance and earlier than the 5th century.

below Lérida and near the confluence of the Segre with the Cinca. The settlement is about 90 km. in a straight line from the coast, but on the main highway of commercial penetration formed by the rivers Ebro and Segre, which were navigable up to the twentieth century. It is one of the most extensive known settlements in the Ilergetan country, and was excavated almost completely in 1942 by J. A. Tarragó Pleyán.

To the west of the settlement and fairly close to it remains of cremation urns have been recovered, belonging to a First Iron Age urnfield which may have corresponded to the beginnings of the settlement. This seems to have been destroyed at the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 2nd century, as is shown by a destruction level with an abundance of ash and carbonized rubble.

Although the deposit has often been referred to, there is still practically no published account of it nor study of its material. The excavation finds have been deposited in the Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses at Lérida.

In Jebut has been found one terracotta.

*Bibliography*

R. Pita Mercè, *Una figurilla de Bes, procedente del poblado ibérico de Jebut (Lérida)*, in *VIII Congreso Nacional. Sevilla-Málaga, 1963*, Zaragoza, 1964, pp. 380 ff.

R. P. M., *Notas de Arqueologia de Cataluña y Baleares. Lérida. Soses*, in *Ampurias*, XXVI-XXVII, Barcelona, 1964-1965, pp. 310 ff.

Federico Lara Peinado, *Lérida, Museo Arqueológico I. E. I.*, Cultura Ilerdense. Serie Arte e Historia, Lérida, 1974.

**Jebut, No. 11.01** Figure of a Deity (Pl. LII)

*Material and Colour*: Baked clay, very fine and reddish.

*Measurements*: height 4.1 cm., width (from ear to ear) 4.0 cm., depth (from nose to occiput) 3.5 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Archaelogical Museum of the *Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses* at Lérida.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found by chance by a farm worker in cultivated fields about 200 m. to the west of the hillock in which the Jebut settlement is ensconced and about 100 m. from where remnants of cremation urns have been found, perhaps in one of the necropolises of the settlement, on the estate called Mas del Ruella. It is thus not known whether the terracotta comes from the scattering of pottery fragments from the settlement proper or from one of the necropolises. The farm worker handed over the figurine to Señor A. Vallès Fandos, a resident of Aitona, who told Señor Pita Mercè of the *Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses* about it and showed it to

him. The piece was thus added to the archaeological collection kept open to the public by the Institute in Lérida. Señor Pita introduced the piece at the VIIIth National Archaeological Congress.

*Bibliography*: Pita, *VIII CNA*, pp. 380 ff. Pita, *Ampurias*, XXVI-XXVII, p. 313. Lara, *Lérida, MArq. IEI.*, p. 86, fig. 56.

*Date*: It is difficult to give an exact date for the beginnings of the settlement, which seems in any case to fade out at the beginning of the 2nd century. Pita does not venture on an exact date but speaks generally of the 5th-3rd centuries.[1] On the other hand he does state that the material of which the figurine is made is very like certain *vernis rouge* ware, easily confused at first sight with *terra sigillata*, which is said to have been abundant in the Ilergetan area, always according to Pita, during the 3rd-2nd centuries.[2] But my team-mate E. Junyent, who has studied this ware (dating it very exactly to the third quarter of the 3rd century[3] and knows the Jebut figurine), assures me that their composition is entirely different. All I can add is that the only elements of comparison at my disposal, the terracottas of Puig de Sant Andreu Nos. 08.01 and 08.02, are of the 4th century, while for the Jebut terracotta, which is much cruder, I could perhaps hazard a date in the 4th-3rd centuries.

*Description*: A human head, broken off at the neck, the rest of the figure not having been found. The features are negroid, with prominent superciliary arches, big eyes, nose broad and snub, cheeks puffed out, mouth large and smiling and ears small and prominent. In the upper part of the head is a round hole which may have served for the attachment of a crest. The head is hollow and the clay walls are thin. On the outside it seems to have been repaired with a spatula. The general appearance of the head, like the hole for a crest, as Pita already observed, recalls a representation of the god Bes. But the crudeness of the workmanship makes this identification only probable, not certain.

*Parallels*: As terracotta representations of Bes from the Peninsula, we may cite the two pieces from Puig de Sant Andreu, Nos. 08.01 and 08.02, and that from Cerro del Villar, No. 30.02, remote though these are in technical execution from the crude Jebut head. Also there are Bes terracottas found

---

[1] Pita, *VIII CNA*, p. 382. On the other hand this author hazards a 5th-century date for the urnfield in Pita, *Ampurias*, XXVI-XXVII, p. 313.

[2] Pita, *VIII CNA*, p. 381.

[3] Junyent, *XII CNA*, pp. 498 ff. Junyent, *NAH Preh.*, 2, pp. 287 ff.

in Sardinia, one in Karalis,[4] the other in Tharros,[5] and the moulds found at Dermech (Carthage)[6] and on Ibiza,[7] and we remember also the numerous late terracottas found in Egypt.

*Conclusion*: We cannot be absolutely safe in identifying this terracotta as Bes. In favour of the identification are the negroid features, the smiling face, and the hole on top of the head for a supposed tuft of plumes. Against it is its crudity, and more especially the lack of any characteristic element which would put it beyond a doubt, owing to its fragmentary condition. I am, however, inclined to classify it as a Pseudoegyptian piece, possibly representing the god Bes, but cannot rule out the possibility of other identifications, in particular a Silenus or other divinity of the sort, in view of the piece's uncertain dating.

## 12. TOSSAL DEL MORO. PINYERES, BATEA (TARRAGONA)

Tossal del Moro is situated on the right bank of the River Algars, a tributary of the Matarranya, which is in its turn a right-handed tributary of the Ebro. The Tossal is very close to and south of the hamlet of Pinyeres, its greatest height above sea level being 270 m. and its elevation above the River Algars 48 m. Its upper part constitutes a platform about 70 m. in major axis by 26 m. minor axis, completely occupied by a settlement which seems also to extend over the slopes of the Tossal.

It is not known for certain when the archaeological deposit was discovered. But Maluquer supposes that the incentive for the excavations may have been the chance find of the magnificent scaraboid now to be catalogued.[1] Whatever the case, it is certain that Lorenzo Pérez Temprado, member of a group of amateurs of the Archaeology of Lower Aragon, and a resident of Favara, almost completely excavated the upper platform of the settlement, apparently in May 1925,[2] as the excavator's family remembered. The excavation must have lasted some weeks to judge from the extent of the works which can be observed to this very day. Pérez Temprado at the same time excavated the important deposit of Roquizal del Rullo, and we must suppose that in face of its much greater richness he would have been quick

---

[4] Barreca et alii, *Sardegna*, p. 155, fig. 145.
[5] Harden, *Los fenicios*, pp. 105 f., fig. 18.
[6] Harden, *Los fenicios*, pp. 103 and 105, fig. 17.
[7] Tarradell, *Història dels Catalans*, I, p. 236.

[1] Maluquer, *Tossal del Moro*, p. 16.
[2] Maluquer, *Tossal del Moro*, p. 5.

to abandon his work on the other site. Pérez Temprado nowhere made any allusion to his work at Tossal del Moro, and when the material from Roquizal del Rullo was moved to the National Archaeological Museum he contented himself with retaining a reduced collection of pieces from Tossal del Moro de Pinyeres in his home at Favara.

Thus almost no account of the deposit was published and until the death of Pérez Temprado it remained virtually unknown, except to a small group of his intimates, one of whom, E. J. Vallespí, Professor at Saragossa University, reported it to Dr. Maluquer de Motes. The settlement had not been visited again, so that when Professors Maluquer and Vallespí turned up there in April 1960 all they had to do was rediscover it, and where they expected to be making a mere *sondage* test they found instead a large settlement matching the others in Lower Aragon, and almost entirely excavated.[3]

The dating of this deposit has been very inadequately worked out owing to the want of documentation, our only sources being surface surveys or the excavations of Pérez Temprado, which were in no case deep enough. Maluquer thinks the settlement must have been inhabited in the 5th century, and moreover recognizes a strong First Iron Age tradition in the hand-made pottery.[4] But he has not ventured to push the dating back into the 6th century, on the strength of only one element, the scaraboid.[5] Yet this scaraboid is not in fact the only element which can be dated to the 6th century. Maluquer himself cites hand-made pottery with grooves of "urnfield" type,[6] a fragment of a globular vessel with an outer bevel edge and a vertically pierced lug, and a lid with two lugs and inner bevel, decorated with painted bands.[7] Maluquer presumes the existence of 6th-century levels in the settlement not discovered by Pérez Temprado's excavation. For my part I think there is already sufficient evidence for believing that the settlement was occupied in the 6th century.

The terminal dating of the settlement is given, according to Maluquer, by a single fragment of 3rd-century "Campanian A" ware[8] and by the complete absence of the typical Iberian kalathos, to be found in all Iberian settlements of later date.[9] This settlement seems to have been destroyed in a violent conflagration.[10]

---

[3] Maluquer, *Tossal del Moro*, p. 6.
[4] Maluquer, *Tossal del Moro*, p. 13.
[5] Maluquer, *Tossal del Moro*, p. 16.
[6] Maluquer, *Tossal del Moro*, pp. 11 f.
[7] Maluquer, *Tossal del Moro*, p. 13.
[8] Maluquer, *Tossal del Moro*, p. 13.
[9] Maluquer, *Tossal del Moro*, p. 12.
[10] Maluquer, *Tossal del Moro*, p. 13.

From Tossal del Moro one scaraboid has been recovered.

Let me add in conclusion that the methodical excavation of the deposit was resumed by myself in 1975.[11] From the work done so far the *oppidum* can be given a terminal dating in the second half of the 5th century.

*Bibliography*

J. Maluquer de Motes, *"Cowroid" de cerámica vidriada hallado en el poblado ibérico del "Tossal del Moro" en Piñeras (Batea, Tarragona)*, in *Strenae. Estudios de Filologia e Historia dedicados al Profesor Manuel García Blanco*, Acta Salmanticensia. Filosofía y Letras. Tomo XVI, Salamanca, 1962, pp. 343 ff.

Juan Maluquer de Motes, *Tossal del Moro*, Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España, 5, Madrid, 1962.

A. Arribas y J. Wilkins, *La Necrópolis fenicia del Cortijo de las Sombras (Frigiliana, Málaga)*, in *Pyrenae*, 5, Barcelona, 1969, pp. 185 ff.

Juan Maluquer de Motes, *Tartessos. La ciudad sin historia*, Nuestro Pasado, Barcelona, 1970.

Josep Padró i Parcerisa, *Breus notes sobre els escarabeus i escaraboids de la necròpolis de Can Canyis*, in *Pyrenae*, 7, pp. 129 ff., Barcelona, 1971.

Mª Montserrat Vidal de Brandt, *La iconografía del grifo en la Península Ibérica*, in *Pyrenae*, 9, Barcelona, 1973, pp. 7 ff.

Josep Padró i Parcerisa, *A propósito del escarabeo de la Solivella (Alcalà de Xivert, Castellón), y de otras piezas egipcias de la zona del Bajo Ebro*, in *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología Castellonense*, 1, Castellón de la Plana, 1974, pp. 71 ff.

**Tossal del Moro, No. 12.01** Scaraboid (Pl. LIII)

*Material and Colour*: Glazed composition with a pale greenish-yellow glaze.

*Measurements*: length 4.5 cm., breadth 3 cm., height 1.4 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Institute of Archaeology and Prehistory in the University of Barcelona.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found by Lorenzo Pérez Temprado about the year 1925 in circumstances not exactly known. All we do know is that he carried out fairly extensive excavations in the settlement of Tossal del Moro de Pinyeres, retaining in his own possession only a small collection of objects recovered from the settlement which he considered interesting. Pérez Temprado, however, never made any reference to these operations nor to the material recovered, which remained completely unknown. The objects from Pinyeres were kept at Favara by the excavator's family, and with the assistance of Professor Vallespí, grandson of Pérez Temprado, Dr. Maluquer was able to take charge of them and bring them together in Barcelona, as a preliminary to his own study of this deposit. Among the objects was the scaraboid, of which we do not know whether it was found in the settlement itself or in its neighbourhood, though we may suppose that in the second

[11] The excavations are carried out by O. Arteaga and E. Sanmartí together with me.

case it came from some necropolis. After the formal "discovery" of the piece by scholars, a detailed account of it was given by Dr. Maluquer de Motes, published in 1962.[12]

*Bibliography*: Maluquer, *Tossal del Moro*, p. 16. Maluquer, *Strenae*, pp. 343 ff. Arribas y Wilkins, *Pyrenae*, 5, p. 208. Maluquer, *Tartessos*, p. 93. Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 132. Vidal, *Pyrenae*, 9, pp. 106 ff. Padró, *CPAC*, 1, pp. 71, 74 ff.

*Date*: Maluquer dates the piece to the 7th-6th centuries, favouring a date in the first half of the 6th century.[13] This dating is confirmed by the presence of the Horus name of Psammetichus II, inscribed on the reverse of the scaraboid, as we shall see. On the other hand, I have already mentioned that Maluquer did not venture to give this date to the settlement itself on the sole evidence of the scaraboid, but that to me there seemed archaeological elements enough to put the settlement back at least till the 6th century.[14]

*Description*: In a very good state of preservation, though the glaze has been worn away in places by rubbing. It is a cowroid, richly decorated on the obverse, which is convex: two lotus flowers fairly stylized, are faced and separated by a plain rectangle. A double notched line marks the outlines of the flowers along the edge of the face, interrupted only at the extremities to make room for the two flower-stalks.

Longitudinally pierced, and with a lateral groove which Maluquer thought must have been for the attachment of a metal mount but which in my view serves only to mark the base, properly so called, of the cowroid. On the flat reverse face is engraved a sphinx of large size, seated on its hind-quarters and facing right. It has a falcon's head (disproportionately long) and two wings outspread, an exceptional detail. In front it bears two *uraei*, also facing right. The sphinx's tail stands straight up behind, leaving a small space for the following vertical hieroglyphic inscription: . This is headed by the falcon *Ḥr* bearing the divine standard; in the middle is the *mn* sign and below that the *nb* sign;[15] in all probability we here

[12] Maluquer, *Strenae*, pp. 343 ff. All the details here quoted come from this account. I thank Dr. Maluquer for having enabled me to study the piece.

[13] Maluquer, *Strenae*, pp. 347 f. He does not, however, give reasons for this dating.

[14] Cf. my discussion of the general chronology of this settlement, where I list other material datable to the 6th century.

[15] The correct identification of the three signs was given by Maluquer, *Strenae*, p. 344. On the other hand his translation cannot be accepted. It is grammatically impossible, since in Egyptian the adjective never precedes the substantive except when we have a form of speech with adjectival predicate, which is evidently not the case here. I must also mention that the drawing of the piece published in the same place is likewise incorrect. In the inscription

have the Horus name of Psammetichus II, abbreviated in the form *Ḥr-mn*, attested on scarabs.[16] Moreover, the association of the Horus name of Psammetichus II with the *nb* sign is also well enough attested, but not at Can Canyís.[17]

*Parallels*: For the theme on the back of this scaraboid with two confronted palmettes bordered by a notched line, Maluquer cites an almost identical scaraboid published by Petrie and showing on the reverse the name of Petubastis. This piece too is of yellowish glazed composition.[18] From Carthage, Maluquer cites also two cowroids with notched borders and one with confronted palmettes published by Vercoutter.[19] I have already discussed the winged sphinx with falcon's head in connection with the Empúries scarab No. 07.12, where I refer to parallels among Egyptian scarabs, some of which were gathered at Naucratis. The normal posture of this sphinx is precisely that of being seated on its hindquarters, and cases may be cited from Naucratis[20] and from Carthage,[21] not to mention Scaraboid No. 09.11 from Can Canyís.[22] But Maluquer is right to emphasize the most original foreshortened position of the wings of the sphinx on the Tossal del Moro cowroid. To the parallels he offers, a scarab from Idalion (Cyprus) and one from the De Clerq Collection.[23] I can only add a gold ring from La Joya (Huelva), which has been found since.[24] I have already discussed the Horus name of Psammetichus II in describing the inscription, when I mentioned some parallels of use in confirming the reading. Here I need only recall that this royal name is also attested in the Peninsula, in the near-by Necropolis of Can Canyís,[25] and perhaps in that of La Joya.[26]

*Conclusion*: Throughout his study Maluquer remains reluctant to assign a place of origin to this scaraboid. In principle, and in accordance with the quality of the hieroglyphs and the general engraving of the piece,

---

there is nothing more than the three signs mentioned, as I am able to state with assurance after seeing the original.

[16] Gauthier, *L.R.*, IV, p. 97. Cf. Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 55. Hall, *Catalogue*, I, p. 255, No. 2553.

[17] Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 132, is a mistake. Cf. 09.12.

[18] Petrie, *Scarabs*, Pl. LVII, 30L and LXXI, Z8. Cf. Maluquer, *Strenae*, p. 346.

[19] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, Pl. XIV, 480, 484 and 485. Cf. Maluquer, *Strenae*, p. 346.

[20] Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, Pl. XXXVII, 23.

[21] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 83, lists the examples found in Carthage with these characteristics.

[22] Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 131.

[23] Maluquer, *Strenae*, pp. 346 ff.

[24] Garrido, "*La Joya*", p. 31, fig. 19, 1, Pl. XVIII.

[25] Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 132.

[26] Gamer-Wallert, *MMitt.*, 14, pp. 121 ff.

he seems to agree with Vercoutter in attributing a specifically Egyptian character to the manufacture of cowroids.[27] A little later, however, he infers from the type of sphinx that it is not a genuinely Egyptian piece, but rather a Phoenician or Greek one,[28] and concludes by admitting without further ado that it probably came from some Naucratis workshop, judging by the type and the composition material.[29] But it is precisely from the type and composition material that the markedly Egyptian character of this scaraboid is so evident. It has nothing in common with the "special technique" defined by Vercoutter and typical of Naucratis. This does not mean that the Tossal del Moro scaraboid was not manufactured at Naucratis, simply that it is not absolutely certain. The only absolutely sure thing about this scaraboid is that it was manufactured in Egypt. Its style and technique both prove it, as does its inscription. What we cannot say for certain is the exact place where it was made.[30]

---

[27] Maluquer, *Strenae*, p. 345.

[28] Maluquer, *Strenae*, p. 347.

[29] Maluquer, *Strenae*, p. 347.

[30] On the theory of the two sources of supply of scarabs and scaraboids in Carthage, one of which would be an unspecified place in Egypt, perhaps the Memphis region, the other Naucratis, see Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 338 ff., especially pp. 340 and 341.

# III. VALENCIA

## 13. LA SOLIVELLA. ALCALÀ DE XIVERT (CASTELLÓN)

La Solivella is a cremation Necropolis. It was discovered accidentally on the first days of July 1961 during agricultural operations. The provincial authorities were informed and the excavation was entrusted to Señor Fletcher, who carried it out in the middle of that same July. In course of it 28 urn burials were brought to light and the remains dispersed by the previous agricultural operations were recovered and brought together.[1] An account of the excavation was published in 1965.

La Solivella is on the eastern slope of the Serra d'Irta and south-east of Alcalà de Xivert. Discoveries of interment areas are numerous in this neighbourhood, and it is supposed there must have been some city there, perhaps on the Serra d'Irta.

Fletcher dated the Necropolis to a very specific moment of the last quarter of the 5th century, fixing its use in the years 430-425.[2] Today it looks as if we can attribute a much longer existence to this Necropolis and revise its dating, in view of the new elements of comparison which have appeared in the Mas de Mussols Necropolis, in that of Mianes at the mouth of the Ebro, and of Can Canyís a little to the north, all very similar to Solivella. Thus some of the Solivella tombs can be put back to 600 B.C. at least, while on the other hand none of them can be later than the middle of the 5th century.

At La Solivella one scarab has been found.

*Bibliography*


D. Fletcher Valls, *La necrópolis ibérica de Solivella (Alcalá de Chivert, Castellón de la Plana)*, in *VII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología, Barcelona, 1960*, Zaragoza, 1962, pp. 261 ff.

Fletcher Valls, *Las urnas de orejetas perforadas*, in *VIII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología, Sevilla-Málaga, 1963*, Zaragoza, 1964, p. 311.

D. Fletcher Valls, *La necrópolis de la Solivella (Alcalá de Chivert)*, Serie de Trabajos Varios, 32, Valencia, 1965.

J. Mª Blázquez, *Tartessos y los orígenes de la colonización fenicia en Occidente*, Acta Salmanticensia. Filosofía y Letras, 58, Salamanca, 1968.

A. Arribas y J. Wilkins, *La Necrópolis fenicia del Cortijo de las Sombras (Frigiliana, Málaga)*, in *Pyrenae*, 5, Barcelona, 1969, pp. 185 ff.


[1] Fletcher, *La Solivella*, p. 5.

[2] Fletcher, *La Solivella*, pp. 57 f.

Josep Padró i Parcerisa, *Breus notes sobre els escarabeus i escaraboids de la necròpolis de Can Canyis*, in *Pyrenae*, 7, Barcelona, 1971, pp. 129 ff.
Josep Padró i Parcerisa, *A propósito del escarabeo de la Solivella (Alcalà de Xivert, Castellón), y de otras piezas egipcias de la zona del Bajo Ebro*, in *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología Castellonense*, 1, Castellón de la Plana, 1974, pp. 71 ff.

**La Solivella, No. 13.01** Scarab (Pls. LIV and LV)

*Material and Colour*: White glazed composition with remains of green colouring.

*Measurements*: length 1.2 cm., breadth 0.8 cm., height 0.6 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Diputación Provincial de Castellón de la Plana Museum.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found in Burial 6, a cremation like the rest, in which the furniture consisted of:

A piriform urn, with perforated lugs and disk-shaped scoop-lid with a hole beside it, in bright yellow composition of good quality and firing, like the other urns; decorated with two wide bands and numerous narrower lines between them and above the upper of the two bands, painted wine-red.

Above the urn, in great disorder, were eleven glazed composition beads and the scarab: part of a ring-shaped spring fibula, with raised filiform bow and long catch; a small ring; two miniature conical bells suspended from two little rods, pendant in their turn from another ring; the rings, pendants, and fibula of bronze.[3]

*Bibliography*: Fletcher, *La Solivella*, pp. 28, 54 f., Pl. XVIII. Arribas y Wilkins, *Pyrenae*, 5, p. 209. Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 132. Padró, *CPAC*, 1, pp. 71 ff.

*Date*: We have already seen that Fletcher dates the Necropolis to the second half of the 5th century, about 430-425,[4] a dating shown to be unduly late by finds made recently in neighbouring necropolises. The urns with perforated lugs are very well dated to the 6th century and even to the beginning of that century at Mas de Mussols and Mianes, necropolises situated at the mouth of the Ebro very near to Solivella. At Mas de Mussols, moreover, there are the pendants in the form of little bells and at Mianes the anular "Spanish" fibula. Quite apart from the scarab, the remainder of the funeral furniture of Burial No. 6 at La Solivella enables us to date it to the years 525-500.[5] The scarab itself is a product of Naucratis and its date of manufacture must on general principles be given as end of 7th century or in the 6th century before 525 B.C. From its evident kinship with the

[3] I have taken the description of the furniture as it stands from Fletcher, *La Solivella*, p. 28.
[4] For his chronological arguments see in particular Fletcher, *La Solivella*, pp. 54-58.
[5] I must thank Señor M. Cura for his help in dating this burial as exactly as possible.

Mas de Mussols and Can Canyís examples I should put it in the middle of the 6th century. This would mean accepting a survival period of at most some 50 years, probably less, which is of course not excessive for an isolated piece and is far from justifying Fletcher's observations on scarab seal designs, according to which they must have been repeated identically over a long period and therefore have no value for dating purposes.[6] On the other hand this author accepts the provenance of these scarabs from Naucratis, and it is well known that the centre there ceased producing them at the end of the 6th century. Thus the only valid answer to this dating problem is that the date assigned by Fletcher to La Solivella is much too late, as is proved by its close kinship with Mas de Mussols, Mianes, and Can Canyís.

*Description*: The scarab is in rather bad condition. It is broken in two pieces which it has been possible to stick together. It is longitudinally pierced. The back (obverse) is especially badly preserved but seems to have the thorax and elytra drawn merely with a line, and thus corresponds to Type IV. The legs and base are only perfunctorily indicated. On the reverse is an animal reclining to the right which must be a lion, with the head hunched and highly stylized. Between its forepaws it is holding a lengthened vertical sign, probably the *maât* feather or the vessel *ḥs*, though we cannot really tell. Over the lion's back is the sun-disk : .

*Parallels*: I have already discussed the theme of the lion reclining with the sun-disk over it in connection with Can Canyís Nos. 09.04, 09.08, and 09.14. Parallels for the vertical object held by the lion in its forepaws, in addition to Can Canyís No. 09.14,[7] can be cited in several examples from Naucratis,[8] Carthage,[9] and Etruria.[10]

*Conclusion*: Egyptian scarab probably manufactured at Naucratis. Fletcher nowhere actually describes this piece, confining himself to observations of a general nature. From these at any rate we take it that Fletcher identifies the scarab with the seal of Psammetichus I,[11] that is to say he endorses Petrie's and Vercoutter's opinion on it. For the discussion of this supposed title which cannot possibly be read from the signs and my suggestion that it is in fact a late spelling of the name of the sun-god Re, see under the scarab Can Canyís No. 09.04.

---

[6] Fletcher, *La Solivella*, pp. 54 f.
[7] Padró, *Pyrenae*, 7, p. 132.
[8] Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, Pl. XXXVII, 45.
[9] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 162, No. 269 (not very certain), and 202, No. 480.
[10] Bissing, *St. Etr.*, IX, p. 333, Pl. IL, No. 30.
[11] Fletcher, *La Solivella*, p. 55.

## 14. LA BASTIDA DE LES ALCUSES. MOIXENT (VALENCIA)

La Bastida de les Alcuses is a large Iberian settlement discovered in 1909, the year in which the report reached Señor Isidre Ballester. A *Servicio de Investigaciones Prehistóricas* was established by the Diputacion of Valencia in 1928, and between that year and 1931 proceeded to excavate the deposit under the direction of Señor Ballester. Several notes, on the progress made and the material found, were published,[1] and in 1965 the Service (S.I.P.) began publication of a series of exhaustive monographs upon it. Recently the excavations have been resumed, again in charge of the S.I.P., and the total of dwellings so far excavated is about 250.

The settlement is situated in a very dominating position on the Serra Grossa, 741 m. above sea level, easily defensible in itself and protected in addition by a double wall. It commands the whole Montesa Valley, that is to say the valley of the River Canyoles, from its source to its termination in Xàtiva, and even controls the parting of the ways over the mountain passes to the Central Meseta and High Andalusia through Almansa.[2]

The life of this huge settlement must have been very short according to its excavators, approximately from 400 B.C.[3] to 340-330 B.C. when it was destroyed. Apparently there was only one archaeological level, very rich, with evident signs of destruction and abandonment in all its dwellings, and this has been dated solely by the imported Attic ware and Pre-Campanian ware.[4] But though the final date seems well established, to a near approximation (absence of later forms of Pre-Campanian, absolute lack of Campanian A), it does on the other hand seem to me most hazardous to rely on the moment of appearance of Attic imports to establish the initial date of the settlement. The fact that there are hardly any 5th-century Attic imports, which are moreover very rare up to the present in Valencia, does not mean that the settlement did not exist before the year 400. In fact, certain Ionian goblets typical of La Bastida and mixed up with Iberian ware can be dated to the last quarter of the 6th century;[5] and

---

[1] Tarradell, *Saitabi*, XI, pp. 10 f. with an account of the settlement and all the previous literature.

[2] Llobregat, *Contestania*, p. 34.

[3] On the other hand Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 323, basing herself solely on the Attic imports, already puts the dating back to 450 B.C.

[4] Tarradell, *Saitabi*, XI, p. 10. Llobregat, *Contestania*, pp. 35, 38 ff.

[5] For instance, the example reproduced by Fletcher, Pla y Alcácer, *La Bastida*, II, p. 41, fig. 5. I am indebted for this piece of evidence to my team-mates M. Py, E. Junyent, and M. Cura.

Schubart also dates to this century or a little later the bronze statuette of an Iberian horseman with a sword and wearing a high-plumed helmet.[6] This, combined with the consideration that it is difficult to accept that a settlement with such a short life could have attained such great development, and with the report by Trías that the Bastida material does include Attic ware of the 5th century,[7] giving us a bridge to the 6th century, inclines me to believe that this settlement may easily go back to the 6th century.

At La Bastida de les Alcuses one amulet has been found.

*Bibliography*

Isidro Ballester Tormo, *La labor del Servicio de Investigación Prehistórica y su Museo en el pasado año 1931*, Valencia, 1932.

M. Tarradell, *Ensayo de estratigrafía comparada y de cronología de los poblados ibéricos valencianos*, in *Saitabi*, XI, pp. 3 ff., Valencia, 1961.

D. Fletcher, E. Pla y J. Alcácer, *La Bastida de les Alcuses (Mogente-Valencia)*, I-II, Serie de Trabajos Varios, Núm. 24-25, Valencia, 1965-1969.

Gloria Trías de Arribas, *Cerámicas griegas de la Península Ibérica*. Tomo I, *Texto*. Tomo II, *Índices y Láminas*, Publicaciones de Arqueología Hispánica, II, Serie Primera, Monografías sobre cerámicas hispánicas, 2, Valencia, 1967-1968.

Enrique A. Llobregat Conesa, *"Contestania Ibérica"*, Publicaciones del Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos, Serie II, 2, Alicante, 1972.

Enrique A. Llobregat, *Las relaciones con Ibiza en la protohistoria valenciana*, in *Prehistoria y Arqueología de Las Islas Baleares, VI Symposium de Prehistoria Peninsular*, Publicaciones Eventuales No. 24, Barcelona, 1974, pp. 291 ff.

**La Bastida de les Alcuses, No. 14.01** Amulet

*Material and Colour*: White glazed composition.

*Measurements*: —.

*Place of Keeping*: Valencia Museum of Prehistory.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found inside a dwelling of the settlement, during the campaign of 1931.

*Bibliography*:[8] Ballester, *Labor del S.I.P. en 1931*, p. 28. Llobregat, *VI SPP.*, p. 311.

*Date*: This type of amulet in the Emporion and Cigarralejo Necropolises is well dated to the 4th century. A dating somewhere in this century must also be appropriate for the La Bastida example. We must however await the definitive account of which publication has been announced in order to learn the archaeological context.

---

[6] Schubart, *Civilisations Anciennes*, pp. 164, 186.

[7] Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, pp. 323 ff.

[8] I must thank Señores D. Fletcher and E. Pla for notifying me of the piece and showing it to me in the Valencia Museum.

*Description*: Only the lower half of the piece is preserved. It is an anthropomorphic amulet in an erect, walking attitude. The deity, who obviously cannot be identified in the absence of the whole upper part, is placed on a small base and has a vertical pillar at the back.

*Parallels*: Amulets of this type have been recovered from several Peninsular deposits, though the total numbers are small: Empúries, Tossal de Manises, L'Albufereta d'Alacant, El Cigarralejo, El Cabecico del Tesoro and Villaricos. For the parallels in Egypt itself and the Mediterranean in general (and the Punic area in particular), cf. Empúries No. 07.17.

*Conclusion*: It is very probable that the fragmentary amulet of La Bastida was of the god Horus, like the complete examples from Empúries, Tossal de Manises, and Albufereta d'Alacant. For my reasons for regarding amulets of this type as Egyptian, though with reserves, cf. Empúries No. 07.17.

## 15. TOSSAL DE MANISES. ALACANT (ALICANTE)

The ruins of a Roman city on the summit of the Tossal de Manises have been known since the Renaissance and some isolated diggings were carried out there, the site being identified with the ancient Ilici. In 1931 excavations were begun in a systematic manner, directed by José Lafuente Vidal and carried out by Father José Belda Domínguez. In 1934 Señor Lafuente was succeeded by Señor Francisco Figueras Pacheco, but in 1936 the work was interrupted by the Civil War and not resumed until 1954, when Señor Lafuente proceeded to clean up and re-excavate the deposit. Since then some *sondages* have been taken on the Tossal de Manises, in 1958 directed by Dr. Tarradell and Señor A. Ramos Folqués, in 1965 by Dr. Tarradell, Dr. Llobregat, and Señor Vicenç Pascual, and in 1966-1967 by Doctors Tarradell and Llobregat.[1] Alongside the properly speaking archaeological work the learned world has persistently hunted for the ancient name of Tossal de Manises. Rejecting the initial identification with Ilici, Lafuente identified the ruins of the deposit with Lucentum and concluded by asserting that its ancient name as a Greek colony must have been *Leukon Teichos*. Figueras for his part identified the site with the Barcid foundation *Akra Leuke*. None of these identifications have stood up to modern criticism.[2]

This deposit, which has now been classified as an Iberian city, is situated some 3 km. north of Alicante, on a hill 37 m. high on the shore of the

[1] Llobregat, *Contestania*, pp. 64 f.
[2] Llobregat, *Contestania*, pp. 71 f.

ancient gulf of Albufereta. A wall encircles the built-up area, which is now covered by remains of the Roman period. Below the Roman remains lie Iberian levels which were rarely reached by the earlier excavators. At the foot of the Tossal and adjoining the ancient Albufereta, today high and dry, remains of Roman wharves have been found. But it is clear that there must already have been a port on the site in Iberian times, to justify the existence of such a trading post, more than the agricultural possibilities of this area could possibly have done.

The chronology of the distinct occupation phases of the deposit is still very imperfectly known, for lack of any modern comprehensive study. Lafuente and Figueras elaborated some complicated stratigraphies which have been proved entirely fanciful, and in expectation of a definitive study of the material we can only admit the existence of three levels of construction, as indicated by Llobregat, and corresponding very roughly to three major stages in the occupation of the Tossal de Manises. Llobregat provisionally dates the lowest level to the 4th-3rd centuries, the middle level to the end of the 3rd century persisting into the 1st, and the third level to the Imperial age. It must however be objected that the dating is given exclusively by the Attic *vernis noir* ware, which Llobregat himself notes as being found in the higher levels of the deposit, while at the deepest level there is a relative abundance of banded pottery, obviously earlier than the 4th century.[3] Let us hope that impending operations to be carried out with the greatest possible precision may succeed in clarifying this earliest date.

In the excavations of Tossal de Manises one amulet has been found.

*Bibliography*

José Lafuente Vidal, *Excavaciones en la Albufereta de Alicante (Antigua Lucentum)*, Junta Superior del Tesoro Artístico, Núm. Gral. 126, Núm. 1 de 1933, Madrid, 1934.

Solveig Nordström, *Los cartagineses en la costa alicantina*, Alicante, 1961.

Gloria Trías de Arribas, *Cerámicas griegas de la Península Ibérica*. Tomo I, *Texto*. Tomo II, *Índices y láminas*, Publicaciones de Arqueología Hispánica, II, Serie Primera. Monografías sobre cerámicas hispánicas, 2, Valencia, 1967-1968.

Francisco Figueras Pacheco, *Relación de hallazgos en el Tossal de Manises (Alicante), 1933-1935*, Publicaciones del Fondo Editorial del Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Alicante, Serie maior, XIII., Alicante, 1971.

Enrique A. Llobregat Conesa, "*Contestania ibérica*", Publicaciones del Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos, Serie II, 2, Alicante, 1972.

Enrique A. Llobregat, *Las relaciones con Ibiza en la protohistoria valenciana*, in *Prehistoria y Arqueología de Las Islas Baleares, VI Symposium de Prehistoria Peninsular*, Publicaciones Eventuales No. 24, Barcelona, 1974, pp. 291 ff.

[3] Llobregat, *Contestania*, p. 71.

**Tossal de Manises, No. 15.01** Amulet (Pl. LV)

*Material and Colour*: White glazed composition.

*Measurements*: height 5.5 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Provincial Museum of Alicante (Inventory of Figueras Excavation No. 600).

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found during the excavation of Señor Figueras Pacheco, 23 December 1935. Came to light in what was called by the excavators "Popilius Street", in Unit 13, at the bottom of a passageway. Figueras gave the amulet the number 600 in indexing the material.

*Bibliography*: Nordström, *Los Cartagineses*, Pl. XVI. Figueras, *Relación de hallazgos*, pp. 158 f., No. 600. Llobregat, *VI SPP*, p. 311, Pl. XVIII-XIX.

*Date*: It has turned out completely impossible to assign a date to the archaeological context of which this amulet must have formed part. Similar amulets, however, have been satisfactorily dated at Emporion and El Cigarralejo to the 4th century, and we can similarly date the Tossal de Manises example to the same century.

*Description*: Anthropomorphic amulet probably representing a Horus. A margin of doubt must be left in this identification owing to the bad condition of the head. The figure is represented on foot, supported by a back pillar reaching the head and resting on a base. As is normal in amulets of this type, the figure is disproportionately narrow in relation to its height and thickness, so that it is virtually a free-standing relief. All its features are highly stylized. On its head is a headdress resembling a crest of which only two points remain (there should have been three) and which must be a distortion of the Double Crown or *pschent*. The arms are attached to the trunk and stretched out downwards. One leg is advanced while the other is apparently attached to the back pillar. The amulet is pierced at elbow height from side to side. Behind and a little below this perforation is the beginning of another in the pillar on the right side.

*Parallels*: The style of this amulet is very similar to that of amulets found in Empúries, La Bastida, L'Albufereta, El Cigarralejo, El Cabecico del Tesoro and Villaricos. For its parallels in the Mediterranean area, including Egypt, cf. Empúries No. 07.17.

*Conclusion*: Cf. my discussion of the Empúries amulet No. 07.17, where I give reasons for considering pieces of this type as Egyptian, though with reserves.

## 16. L'ALBUFERETA. ALACANT (ALICANTE)

At the foot and to the west of the Tossal de Manises, and adjoining the beach of ancient Albufereta, there is a cremation necropolis in rectangular compartments. The Necropolis is situated below the ruins of the installations of a Roman port and it has been possible to excavate only part of it, about 1000 sq.m. José Lafuente Vidal began the excavations in 1931 and uncovered some two hundred burials. The work was continued in 1933 by Figueras Pacheco, who on declaring it finished in 1935 had uncovered 170 cremation graves.[1] Thus the Necropolis must have contained about 400 tombs.[2]

The graves were oriented from west to east and the corpses were cremated inside them. They were shallowly dug, sometimes in alignment with one another, sometimes in disorder. In some cases up to four burials were found on top of one another.

Figueras gave the Necropolis a dating to the last third of the 3rd century believing that was Carthaginian.[3] But Llobregat has already indicated that the imported pottery ranges from occasional fragments of black-figure ware from the end of the 5th century to Campanian A. The Necropolis, he says, had a period of opulence in the 4th century lasting into the 3rd.[4] On the other hand some elements, like the little bronze "braziers" with hands, could in principle go back to the 6th century.

From L'Albufereta come one scarab and one amulet. A second amulet, like the first representing Horus and mentioned by Llobregat,[5] in reality results from a confusion, being nothing but the Tossal de Manises amulet, my No. 15.01. Lafuente[6] and Nordström[7] mention a supposed *udjat* eye, but we need only see the photograph of the piece in question to realize that it has nothing in common with the typical Egyptian amulet of this class.

*Bibliography*

José Lafuente Vidal, *Excavaciones en la Albufereta de Alicante (antigua Lucentum)*, Junta Superior del Tesoro Artístico, Núm. gral. 126, Núm. 1 de 1933, Madrid, 1934.

---

[1] Figueras, *La Albufereta*, pp. 11 ff.
[2] Llobregat, *Contestania*, p. 74.
[3] Figueras, *La Albufereta*, p. 17.
[4] Llobregat, *Contestania*, p. 76.
[5] Llobregat, *Contestania*, p. 77.
[6] Lafuente, *Excavaciones en la Albufereta*, pp. 23, 29, Pl. XII, 11.
[7] Nordström, *Los cartagineses*, pp. 70, 108, Pl. XV, 2.

Francisco Figueras Pacheco, *La necrópolis ibero-púnica de la Albufereta de Alicante*, Estudios Ibéricos, 4, Valencia, 1956.
Solveig Nordström, *Los cartagineses en la costa alicantina*, Alicante, 1961.
Gloria Trías de Arribas, *Cerámicas griegas de la Península Ibérica*. Tomo I, *Texto*. Tomo II, *Índices y láminas*, Publicaciones de Arqueología Hispánica, II, Serie Primera. Monografías sobre cerámicas hispánicas, 2, Valencia, 1967-68.
Enrique A. Llobregat Conesa, "*Contestania ibérica*", Publicaciones del Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos, Serie II, 2, Alicante, 1972.
Enrique A. Llobregat, *Las relaciones con Ibiza en la protohistoria valenciana*, in *Prehistoria y Arqueología de las Islas Baleares*, *VI Symposium de Prehistoria Peninsular*, Publicaciones Eventuales No. 24, Barcelona, 1974, pp. 291 ff.

**L'Albufereta, No. 16.01** Scarab (Pl. LVI)

*Material and Colour*: Green jasper.
*Measurements*: length 1.53 cm., breadth 1.20 cm., height 0.6 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Provincial Museum of Alicante.
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Not known exactly.

*Bibliography*: Nordström, *Los cartagineses*, frontispiece, p. 65, fig. 23 (p. 66).

*Date*: 4th century.

*Description*: The piece has been split in two and all the part of the back above its longitudinal perforation is missing. This is the reason that it had not been identified as a scarab until in 1975, on a visit to the Alicante Museum, I noticed the remains of the beetle's legs resting on the base. On the reverse, in Hellenizing fashion, we have the representation of a warrior, armed with shield and spear and wearing a helmet, walking to the right. The design is enclosed by a notched line.

*Parallels*: Cf. the scarab Empúries No. 07.04, very similar in the design on its reverse to the present one.

*Conclusion*: Pseudoegyptian scarab.

**L'Albufereta, No. 16.02** Amulet (Pls. LVI, LVII and LVIII)

*Material and Colour*: White glazed composition.
*Measurements*: height 8 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Provincial Museum of Alicante (Inventory of the Figueras Excavation No. 358).

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found by Figueras Pacheco in Grave No. 33. This grave is one of the biggest in the deposit ($2 \times 1$ m. approximately) and was found at a single horizon (without other burials above or below it), being opened up at a red stratum which according to Figueras is always the deepest. Among the ashes and bones, with the amulet, the following

furniture came to light : a *lacrimatorium*, a small bust of Tanit, a necklace of polychrome glass pendants of which the amulet must have formed part, and a collection of composition beads. Figueras gave the piece the number 358.

*Bibliography* : Figueras, *La Albufereta*, pp. 15, 50, 60, 83, and Pl. XV. Nordström, *Los cartagineses*, pp. 70, 108, and Pl. XVI. Llobregat, *Contestania*, p. 77. Llobregat, *VI SPP*, p. 311, Pl. XVIII-XIX.

*Date* : Figueras from consideration of the period when the Necropolis itself might be supposed to have been buried under later structures assigned to it a date around 230-220. Disregarding this form of argumentation, we can be sure that the amulet is of 4th-century date, as is proved by the well dated examples from Cigarralejo No. 21.01 and Empúries No. 07.19. The tomb must likewise be dated to the 4th century.

*Description* : Anthropomorphic amulet representing Horus with a human body and a falcon's head. The piece is very well preserved. The figure of Horus is standing attached to a back pillar. On his head he wears a headdress like a crest with three projections, a degenerate derivative of the *pschent* or Double Crown, and on the back of his head can be seen the typical *nemes*, here fluted, which descends over his shoulders. The right arm reaches stiffly downwards close against the body while the left is bent at waist height across the chest. The figure is clothed in a short kilt flounced at the waist. The left leg is advanced while the right is either not shown or in very schematic fashion is literally stuck to the back pillar. The feet are supported by a small plinth or base. All the amulet's features are highly stylized. The figure is very thin as is normal in amulets of this type, and is transversely pierced through the pillar behind the forearm.

*Parallels* : In its style the figure is very similar to others met with in the Peninsula, specifically in Empúries, La Bastida, el Tossal de Manises, el Cigarralejo, el Cabecico del Tesoro and Villaricos, although it is one of the largest in size. On the Egyptian origin of amulets of this type and their diffusion in the Mediterranean, especially in the Punic sphere, cf. my discussion of Empúries No. 07.17.

*Conclusion* : We may consider this piece as Egyptian, though with reserves. Cf. my conclusions on the Empúries amulet No. 07.17.

## 17. L'ALCÚDIA. ELX (ALICANTE)

An important and extensive habitation area situated 2 km. south of the present city of Elx (Elche). Its present Arabic name means The Hill, but

today this "hill" is nowhere more than 4 m. above than the surroundings lands. The site, at that time surrounded by substantial walls, has been known since the Renaissance, and it was there in 1897 that the statue of the famous "Lady of Elx" was found. At the beginning of the century Albertini cut some large excavation trenches in the deposit, and from 1935 onward Señor Alexandre Ramos Folqués, the proprietor of the estate, began his excavations which are still in progress.

Neither the city lay-out nor the stratigraphy of the deposit are at all well understood, since all the archaeological work on the site and the numerous publications and studies are due to Señor Ramos Folqués, who covers up all his *sondages* after they have been made in order to be able to maintain the agricultural exploitation of the estate throughout its area. This makes it completely impossible to control his interpretations of the stratigraphic cuts he makes or indeed the general stratigraphy of the site, which the excavator himself has repeatedly altered. What we can in fact be sure about is that L'Alcúdia was inhabited from prehistoric times (the Chalcolithic, the Bronze Age) uninterruptedly until the time of the Visigoths. Apparently, the first level called "Iberian" lies directly above the Bronze Age level, but its chronology has been much disputed. Trías puts it in the 5th century while Llobregat manages to bring it down to the 4th. This very author does however point out the difficulty of interpreting the data from Ramos Folqués' excavations, without actually casting doubt upon them.[1] I consider them quite unusable.

In the excavations of L'Alcudia one scarab has been found. Ramos Folqués claims to see a representation of Bes in a coral (sic) figurine.[2] But after seeing this piece, I do not think such an identification can be sustained.

*Bibliography*

Alejandro Ramos Folqués, *Vestigios cartagineses en la Alcudia de Elche*, in *I Congreso Arqueológico del Marruecos Español. Tetuán, 22-26 Junio, 1953*, Tetuán, 1954, pp. 303 ff.

Gloria Trías de Arribas, *Cerámicas griegas de la Península Ibérica.* Tomo I, *Texto.* Tomo II, *Índices y láminas*, Publicaciones de Arqueología Hispánica, II, Serie Primera. Monografías sobre cerámicas hispánicas, 2, Valencia, 1967-1968.

A. Ramos Folqués, *El nivel ibero-púnico de la Alcudia de Elche (Alicante)*, in *Omaggio a Fernand Benoit*, II, *Rivista di Studi Liguri*, XXXIV, 1-3, Bordighera, 1968, pp. 363 ff.

Rafael Ramos Fernández, *Amuletos de tipo púnico descubiertos en la Alcudia de Elche*, Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos, 2, Alicante, 1969.

---

[1] Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 373. Llobregat, *Contestania*, p. 83.

[2] Ramos Folqués, *I CAME*, p. 306, Pl. I, 5. Ramos Folqués, *RSL*, XXXIV, 1-3, p. 367, fig. 6. Cf. Arribas, *BB-MB*, 5ª *E*, III, p. 31.

Enrique A. Llobregat Conesa, "*Contestania ibérica*", Publicaciones del Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos, Serie II, 2, Alicante, 1972.
Enrique A. Llobregat, *Las relaciones con Ibiza en la protohistoria valenciana*, in *Prehistoria y Arqueología de las Islas Baleares, VI Symposium de Prehistoria Peninsular*, Publicaciones Eventuales No. 24, Barcelona, 1974, pp. 291 ff.
Rafael Ramos Fernández, *De Helikē a Illici*, Guías Artísticas Provinciales, 1, Alicante, 1974.

**L'Alcúdia, No. 17.01** Scarab (Pl. LIX)

*Material and Colour*: Green Jasper (diasprum).
*Measurements*: length 1.1 cm., breadth 0.9 cm., height 0.7 cm.
*Place of Keeping*: Museum of L'Alcúdia, Elx.
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found at the level of L'Alcúdia called by Ramos Folqués Ibero-Punic without himself giving any exact grounds for his classification.

*Bibliography*: Ramos Folqués, *I CAME*, p. 306, Pl. IV, 5. Ramos Folqués, *RSL*, XXXIV, 1-3, pp. 366 f. Ramos Fernández, *Amuletos*, pp. 37 f. Llobregat, *Contestania*, p. 85. Llobregat, *VI SPP*, p. 307. Ramos Fernández, *De Helikē a Illici*.

*Date*: Ramos Folqués dated this level from the beginning of the Carthaginian invasion of the year 228,[3] but Llobregat denies the existence of such a level, on the principal ground that the fleeting Barcid presence could not have transformed the internal aspect of the country.[4] Whatever the case, I am inclined, in view of the uncertainty of the archaeological data given by Ramos, to abstain from any attempt to date this scarab by its context. In this case stylistic criteria too are hazardous, since I have not been able to examine the piece personally and have to rely on the Ramos descriptions and two inadequate illustrations. At all events, the scarab is of green jasper and its style does not look Egyptian, so that I would not think it unduly hazardous to suggest a 4th-century date for this piece.

*Description*: The illustrations of this scarab published by Ramos Folqués are: Some drawings, rather too simple and schematized,[5] and some photographs, too dark and blurred.[6] My description is taken from these illustrations and Ramos's commentary. The dorsal scheme is not discernible. The legs are well marked. On the reverse, bordered apparently by a corded or notched line, is a figure seated on the ground facing left, according to Ramos with his legs crossed and a tablet upon them, in the attitude of a scribe; still according to Ramos, the style of the figure is said to be Egyptian,

[3] Ramos Folqués, *RSL*, XXXIV, 1-3, p. 364.
[4] Llobregat, *Contestania*, p. 85.
[5] Ramos Folqués, *I CAME*, Pl. IV, 5.
[6] Ramos Folqués, *RSL*, XXXIV, 1-3, pp. 366 f., figs. 4-5.

but from the published illustrations it is impossible to verify these last statements.

*Parallels*: Impossible to indicate without a more exact description of the engraved design.

*Conclusion*: Scarab of Western manufacture (Sardinian?), datable to the 4th century.

## 18. EL CASTELLAR COLORAT. CREVILLENT (ALICANTE)

El Castellar Colorat is a deposit on which no systematic archaeological work has yet been done, but which has been constantly explored, especially by members of the *Centre Excursionista de Crevillent*. The settlement is situated some 3.5 km. north-west of this town, on the summit of a steep hill difficult of access and therefore easy to defend. The *oppidum* moreover possesses spectacular walls preserved to a good height and ending in a number of towers 4 m. high.

To judge from the material recovered from the surface, the deposit is an Iberian settlement superimposed on a habitation area from the end of the Bronze Age and reaching into Roman and even early Mediaeval times. At this moment it is in danger of destruction from quarrying activities.[1]

In this deposit one scarab has been found.[2]

*Bibliography*

Enrique A. Llobregat Conesa, "*Contestania ibérica*", Publicaciones del Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos, Serie II, 2, Alicante, 1972, p. 115.

Vicente Gozálvez Pérez, *Notas sobre el poblamiento antiguo en el término de Crevillente*, in *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina*, XIV, Valencia, 1975, pp. 161 ff.

**El Castellar Colorat, No. 18.01** Scarab (Pl. LX)

*Material and Colour*: Veined green jasper.

*Measurements*: length 1.6 cm., breadth 1 cm., height 0.7 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Vicenç Davó Collection, Crevillent.[3]

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found on the surface in exploring the deposit.

---

[1] Llobregat, *Contestania*, p. 115. Gozálvez, *APL*, XIV, pp. 164 f.

[2] I thank Señor J. L. Roman for giving me this information when an account of the piece was not yet published and for his help in enabling me to study it.

[3] I have to thank Señor V. Davó for the facilities accorded to me in the study of this scarab.

*Bibliography*: Gozálvez, *APL*, XIV, p. 165, Pl. IV,d.

*Date*: Certainly 4th-century.

*Description*: A very crude piece of work, apparently unfinished. Dorsal scheme Type IV, with clypeus, thorax, and elytra perfunctorily indicated, as also the legs. Without longitudinal perforation. Reverse plain.

*Parallels*: Jasper scarabs without any design engraved on the reverse are altogether exceptional. It is obvious from an examination of the scarab that the inscription cannot have been rubbed out and we must therefore suppose that it was never engraved, probably because the piece was left unfinished, as seems to be confirmed by its general appearance and the absence of a longitudinal perforation.[4]

*Conclusion*: Pseudoegyptian scarab, of Western manufacture, certainly unfinished.

## 19. EL MOLAR. SAN FULGENCIO (ALICANTE)

The Molar Necropolis was discovered by chance at the beginning of 1928 during levelling operations by the proprietor of the estate. On being notified of the find Señor Senent Ibáñez, of the *Comisión Provincial de Monumentos*, carried out a first campaign of excavations with Lafuente Vidal in March 1928 and a second campaign alone in July 1929.[1]

The Necropolis is situated on the slope south of the Serra del Molar, close to the mouth of the Segura, and close also, Senent thinks, to an old pre-Roman road. He gives the area of the Necropolis as 30.000 sq. m., two plots of which have been excavated in the two campaigns referred to. Near the Necropolis two Iberian settlements and a group of caves have been reported.

All the burials excavated were individual cremations, with two exceptions, a collective tomb and an inhumation.[2] In ancient times the Necropolis was closed by a wall of large stones crowned by a sculpture of a bull.[3] The material had been much turned over and the excavator gave a detailed

[4] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 175, notes the existence, alongside glazed composition scarabs on which there is designedly no inscription, others on which the inscription is lacking either because it has been defaced or because it has never been engraved. But such scarabs are of glazed composition, and Vercoutter does not refer to the possibility that it could happen with jasper scarabs.

[1] Senent, *El Molar*, pp. 3 ff.

[2] Senent, *El Molar*, p. 7.

[3] Llobregat, *Contestania*, p. 88.

description and inventory of only three burials. Senent gives the Necropolis a dating from the 5th to 3rd centuries.[4] Llobregat, on the basis of a study of the Attic pottery gives it a dating from the end of the 5th to the beginning of the 4th century.[5] But he himself notes the presence of some pieces going back to the 6th century (a black-figure lekythos),[6] to which we can add the Naucratic aryballos and two scarabs, not to mention the belt buckles, a lost fragment of black-figure ware, the urns with perforated lugs, some of them in polychrome bands, and the generally very archaic aspect of the Necropolis pottery, to which Llobregat himself refers,[7] all sufficient evidence that the Molar Necropolis was in use during the whole of the 5th and 6th centuries, and perhaps at the end of the 7th.

In the Molar Necropolis have come to light three scarabs, and a vessel of Egyptian ware.

*Bibliography*

J. J. Senent Ibáñez, *Excavaciones en la necrópolis del Molar*, Junta Superior de Excavaciones y Antigüedades, Núm. gral. 107, Núm. 3 de 1929, Madrid, 1930.

José Lafuente Vidal, *Algunos datos concretos de la provincia de Alicante sobre el problema cronológico de la cerámica ibérica*, in *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, XVII, Madrid, 1944, pp. 68 ff.

Emeterio Cuadrado Díaz, *Los recipientes rituales metálicos llamados "braserillos púnicos"*, in *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, XXIX, Nos. 93 and 94, Madrid, 1956, pp. 52 ff.

Solveig Nordström, *Los cartagineses en la costa alicantina*, Alicante, 1961.

Fletcher Valls, *Las urnas de orejetas perforadas*, in *VIII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología, Sevilla-Málaga, 1963*, Zaragoza, 1964, pp. 305 ff.

Gloria Trías de Arribas, *Cerámicas griegas de la Península Ibérica*. Tomo I, *Texto*. Tomo II, *Índices y láminas*, Publicaciones de Arqueología Hispánica, II, Serie Primera. Monografías sobre cerámicas hispánicas, 2, Valencia, 1967-1968.

Enrique A. Llobregat Conesa, "*Contestania ibérica*", Publicaciones del Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos, Serie II, 2, Alicante, 1972.

Enrique A. Llobregat, *Las relaciones con Ibiza en la protohistoria valenciana*, in *Prehistoria y Arqueología de las Islas Baleares, VI Symposium de Prehistoria Peninsular*, Publicaciones Eventuales No. 24, Barcelona, 1974, pp. 291 ff.

Josep Padró i Parcerisa, *Los objetos de tipo egipcio de la Necrópolis de "El Molar" (Sant Fulgenci, Alicante), y su problemática*, in *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología Castellonense*, 2, Castellón de la Plana (in the press).

**El Molar, No. 19.01** Scarab (Pl. LIX)

*Material and Colour*: Green jasper (diasprum) with a mount of metal according to Llobregat.

---

[4] Senent, *El Molar*, p. 16.

[5] Llobregat, *Contestania*, pp. 91 f.

[6] Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 378.

[7] Llobregat, *Contestania*, p. 91.

*Measurements*: length with mount 2.1 cm.; scarab alone 1.6 cm; breadth with mount 1.6 cm.; scarab alone 1.1 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Provincial Museum of Alicante.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found, it seems, in Grave No. 15 of the plot excavated in the year 1929. This grave was cylindrical with a concave floor and measured 0.80 m. deep by 0.30 m. in diameter. Besides the scarab the furniture according to Senent comprised an iron sickle-bladed razor, remnants of bronze, three pottery spindle-whorls, and a lekythos. A liquid plaster mix had been poured over the remains, and fragments of it were still adhering to the cremated bones.[8]

*Bibliography*: Senent, *El Molar*, pp. 9, 15 f., and Pl. XVII, 1. Nordström, *Los cartagineses*, p. 32 and Pl. XII, 3. Fletcher, *VIII CNA*, p. 308. Fletcher, *La Solivella*, p. 55. Arribas y Wilkins, *Pyrenae*, 5, p. 209. Llobregat, *Contestania*, pp. 89 f.[9] Llobregat, *VI SPP*, p. 307, Pl. XII-XIII. Padró, *CPAC*, 2.

*Date*: Fletcher dates this piece to about the year 450 B.C.[10] and Arribas dates the three scarabs from the Necropolis to the second half of the 5th century.[11] We have already seen that Llobregat brings the dating of the Necropolis down to the end of the 5th and beginning of the 4th century. Trías on the other hand dates the lekythos to about the year 500[12] and the beginning of the Necropolis to the first half of the 5th century. Thus we see that great confusion reigns among the different authors regarding the chronology of this scarab, of Tomb No. 15, and the Necropolis in general. Leaving aside for a moment the problem of dating the Necropolis, I shall now concern myself with the scarab and the tomb, in order to point out that a mistake must have been made. Senent said that among the furniture of the tomb there was a lekythos, and this piece has been dated by Trías, as we have just seen, to about the year 500 B.C. If this dating is accepted it is in conflict with the jasper scarab, which could not possibly be earlier than

[8] I have taken the description of the furniture of this tomb from Senent, *El Molar*, p. 9, but the description, as we shall see, is not trustworthy.

[9] Llobregat, *Contestania*, p. 89, says that the scarab which came to light in Burial No. 15 is white, probably through confusion with the glazed composition one, No. 19.03.

[10] Fletcher, *VIII CNA*, p. 308, dates El Molar to the second half of the 5th century, using as date *post quem* the very jasper scarab I have numbered 19.01. He states that this "must be later than 480 in agreement with Vercoutter's conclusions". But Vercoutter says the exact opposite, namely that the proportion of green jasper (or diasprum) scarabs of the 5th century in Carthage is very low and that the great bulk of these pieces must be dated to the 4th century: Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 65. This scarab is thus more likely to indicate the terminal stages of the Necropolis.

[11] Arribas y Wilkins, *Pyrenae*, 5, p. 209.

[12] Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 378.

the 4th century. We must conclude then that one or other, either the scarab or the lekythos, could not have formed part of the tomb furniture. Possibly Senent made a mistake and got one of the two pieces mixed up. Whatever solution we choose to offer to this problem cannot be other than hypothetical, so that I shall not linger over it. Something is wrong about the description of the furniture of Tomb No. 15 given by Senent, and it is therefore preferable to dispense with these doubtful data in the hope that new investigations will throw light upon them. So returning to the scarab itself, just as I have indicated it must be of 4th-century date like the immense majority of jasper scarabs.

*Description*: The dorsal scheme, incised with very faint scarcely visible lines, corresponds to Type IVa, with thorax and elytra marked by a single line. The legs are not visible because of the mount. On the reverse, surrounded by a notched line, and in very mediocre style, is a winged quadruped moving to the left. The animal's head is hard to identify, though we may guess it to be a horse, in which case the creature in question would be a Pegasus. The very poorness of this stone engraving which makes it so difficult to identify the animal represented is a good enough reason for the fact that its existence has been completely overlooked by the authors who have hitherto studied the piece.

*Parallels*: We know from Carthage a jasper scarab with a creature (sphinx?) vaguely similar to that of El Molar.[13] This piece is of 4th-century date. From Ibiza we can cite several scarabs, also jasper, representing winged sphinxes or griffins which recall the Molar scarab.[14]

*Conclusion*: It is noteworthy that the Pegasus of this scarab is moving to the left, whereas on Egyptian scarabs the personages or creatures representing them (or at any rate the most important among them in complex scenes) face right, just as the hieroglyphic writing is always from right to left, which can easily be checked because all the signs representing animate creatures face the beginning of the text, that is – right. The Pegasus of this scarab (an animal incidentally which has nothing to do with Egyptian iconography) facing left as it does, together with the poor style, is evidence of a late date and Western manufacture. In conclusion, therefore, this is without any doubt a Pseudoegyptian piece, manufactured in the 4th century.

---

[13] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 220, No. 575.

[14] Vives, *Arqueología cartaginesa*, pp. 71 (Nos. 354-356) and 74 (Nos. 402 and 405), Pl. XXV-10-11-12-13-16.

**El Molar, No. 19.02** Scarab (Pl. LIX)

*Material and Colour*: Azurite, according to Senent; perhaps actually blue glazed composition.

*Measurements*: length 1.2 cm., breadth 0.7 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Provincial Museum of Alicante.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Unknown. We can only be sure that it came to light at El Molar, either in the 1928 or in the 1929 Campaign.

*Bibliography*: Senent, *El Molar*, p. 15, Pl. XVII, 2. Nordström, *Los Cartagineses*, p. 32. Llobregat, *VI SPP*, Pl. XII-XIII. Padró, *CPAC*, 2.

*Date*: It is difficult to give a dating for a piece like this. If it is really blue glazed composition as I suppose, it seems fairly safe to assign it to the 6th century.

*Description*: Dorsal scheme Type IVa, with thorax and elytra marked by a single line. The legs are not marked, a sign of antiquity. The reverse is smooth. Longitudinally pierced.

*Parallels*: In connection with the scarab Empúries No. 07.10, I noted that it was an uninscribed piece, quoting numerous parallels for this particular type of amulet in Egypt and Carthage.

*Conclusion*: An Egyptian piece, datable probably to the 6th century.

**El Molar, No. 19.03** Scarab (Pl. LIX)

*Material and Colour*: White glazed composition.

*Measurements*: length 1.2 cm., breadth 0.9 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Provincial Museum of Alicante.

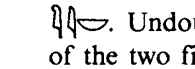
*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found in a box tomb formed of six large stone slabs which were scattered at the moment of excavation. The tomb had been destroyed and looted by the country people. Together with the scarab it was still possible to recover portions of two bronze "brazier" dishes surrounded with hands and a little composition sphere decorated with reliefs, all together with the bones.[15]

*Bibliography*: Senent, *El Molar*, pp. 15 f. and Pl. XVII, 3. Lafuente, *AEArq.*, XVII, p. 70. Nordström, *Los cartagineses*, pp. 25 and 32. Llobregat, *VI SPP*, Pl. XII-XIII. Padró, *CPAC*, 2.

---

[15] Lafuente, *AEArq.*, XVII, pp. 70 f. Cuadrado, *AEArq.*, XXIX, 93-94, p. 65. Nordström, *Los cartagineses*, p. 25.

*Date*: The scarab can be dated to the 7th-6th centuries, and this corresponds to the tomb to judge by the bronze dishes bordered with hands, typical of Tartessian metalwork.[16]

*Description*: The dorsal scheme of this scarab is Type VI, the thorax marked with a line and the elytra with three, and a triangle marked with two lines on each wing. The legs are indicated. The scarab is longitudinally pierced. On the reverse is a hieroglyphic inscription composed of three signs:  . Undoubtedly we have here a trigram of Amun in which the order of the two first signs has been changed by respectful inversion, so that we have a cryptographic reading of the type *'Im(ȝ't)n(b)*.[17]

*Parallels*: Among the numerous examples of trigrams of Amun given by Drioton there is none identical with ours. But the use of the *i* sign in them is attested by examples Nos. 12, 14, and 15;[18] of the signs *mȝ't* and *nb* together by Nos. 6 (in this the sign *mȝ't* also precedes the *i* sign as is the case with the Molar scarab, No. 19.03) and 84,[19] and separately, the first (with the value *m*) by Nos. 1, 22, 28, 34, 54, 57, 84, 88, 89, and 96,[20] and the second (with the value *n*) by Nos. 2, 7, 9, 13, 29, 47, 84, and 107.[21] In the Iberian Peninsula there is another scarab which must certainly be interpreted as a trigram of Amun, that from Cortijo de las Sombras No. 25.01.

*Conclusion*: A scarab of Egyptian manufacture, without any doubt datable to the 7th-6th centuries, showing the name of Amun written cryptographically.

---

[16] Cuadrado, *AEArq.*, XXIX, 93-94, pp. 52 ff.

[17] That is to say that by acrophony only the first letter of each of the three signs of this inscription is used, these being the three which compose Amun's name, *'Imn*. Thus we have one of the many cryptographic (i.e. hidden) spellings of the name of Amun ("The Hidden One"), one of the trigrams of Amun, cf. Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, pp. 11 ff. At the same time some caution is advisable in the use of this article, since though all authors are in agreement about the principles governing the proposed trigrams of Amun it is also certain that some of the readings proposed by Drioton are more than doubtful, especially when we note that many of these scarabs are susceptible of a simpler, non-cryptographic interpretation. Without discounting the possibility that some pieces are actually susceptible of a double reading, normal and cryptographic, the second of which would be the name of Amun, it is still far from proved that the theory of the trigrams of Amun can be pushed to its ultimate consequences, as does Drioton in his work; cf. e.g. Hari, *CdE*, XLVII, 93-94, p. 143 and note 1. Whatever the case, the El Molar scarab No. 19.03 seems to me a clear example of a trigram of Amun, since it is susceptible of no other reading but a cryptographic one according to the principles of acrophony.

[18] Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, pp. 17 f.

[19] Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, pp. 17 and 25.

[20] Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, p. 16.

[21] Drioton, *WZKM*, 54, p. 15.

**El Molar, No. 19.04** Vessel (Pl. LX)

*Material and Colour*: White glazed composition.

*Measurements*: Unknown, since the piece has not been put together again.

*Place of Keeping*: Provincial Museum of Alicante.

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found in the Molar Necropolis, though in unknown circumstances, in the campaign of 1928 or that of 1929.

*Bibliography*: Senent, *El Molar*, pp. 13 and 16, Pl. XII, 2. Llobregat, *Contestania*, p. 90. Padró, *CPAC*, 2.

*Date*: These piece have a well established dating to the middle of the 6th century, cf. the vessels Mailhac No. 02.01 and Empúries No. 07.24.

*Description*: A globular aryballos of the type called "from Naucratis", of which only three fragments have been preserved. The flask has not been restored. Its sides have an incised cross-hatched decoration characteristic of flasks of this type.

*Parallels*: The Naucratis aryballoi, although rather scare in the Peninsula, are widely distributed. At present we know of examples from the necropolises of Bobadilla[22] and Los Villares in Hoya de Santa Ana (No. 20.01), from Empúries (Nos. 07.24-07.28), and from Mailhac (No. 02.01). Another example has been recovered in Ibiza.[23] For the distribution of these flasks in Egypt and in the Mediterranean area, cf. my discussion of Empúries No. 07.24.

*Conclusion*: Despite Bissing's opinion that these flasks were probably manufactured in Rhodes,[24], I continue to believe that they were manufactured in Egypt, since it was only there that the glazed ware technique was known in the 6th century.[25] Cf. the development of my arguments in the *Conclusion* on the Mailhac vessel No. 02.01, as also on Empúries Nos. 07.23 and 07.24. In accordance with these, therefore, the Molar aryballos is an Egyptian piece.

---

[22] Maluquer, *Memoria 1972*, pp. 45 ff. Maluquer, Picazo y Rincón, *La Bobadilla*, pp. 16 ff., Pl. IV.

[23] García y Bellido, *Hisp. Graeca*, Láminas, Pl. LXVI.

[24] Bissing, *Zeit und Herkunft*, pp. 16 ff., especially p. 26.

[25] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 278, n. 3.

# IV. MURCIA

## 19a. CASTILLO DE MONTEAGUDO (MURCIA)

On the discovery in this locality, in the middle of last century, of a "Phoenician Egyptianizing bronze idol", now lost, see Vol. I, p. 22, n. 98.

## 20. LOS VILLARES. HOYA DE SANTA ANA, CHINCHILLA (ALBACETE)

Los Villares is a large necropolis extending across the southern slope of the hill of that name, on the estate named Hoya de Santa Ana, the greater part of which is included in the District of Tobarra.

Señor Joaquín Sánchez Jiménez began excavations of this Necropolis on behalf of the *Comisaría Provincial de Excavaciones Arqueológicas de Albacete* in the year 1941. In 1946, when the excavation was halted, the number of burials uncovered was 324. The majority of those excavated were cremations in urns. There were also, however, a number of inhumation burials.

The chronology of this Necropolis extends from the 6th century to the Roman period, to judge from the photographs of material published by Sánchez Jiménez,[1] although a study of the Necropolis has never been published, despite the liberal promises scattered by the excavator through his two brief reports published in 1943 and 1947.

In this Necropolis one Egyptian vessel has been found.

*Bibliography*

Joaquín Sánchez Jiménez, *Memoria de los trabajos realizados por la Comisaría Provincial de Excavaciones Arqueológicas de Albacete en 1941*, Informes y Memorias, No. 3, Madrid, 1943.

Joaquín Sánchez Jiménez, *Excavaciones y trabajos arqueológicos en la provincia de Albacete, de 1942 a 1946*, Informes y Memorias, No. 15, Madrid, 1947.

Antonio García y Bellido, *Archaeological News. Europe. Spain and Portugal*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, LIII, 2, Menasha, 1949, pp. 150 ff.

---

[1] Sánchez Jiménez, *Memoria*, Pl. III ff. Sánchez Jiménez, *Excavaciones*, Pl. XXII, XXXIX, XLII ff.

Gloria Trías de Arribas, *Cerámicas griegas de la Península Ibérica*, Tomo I, *Texto*. Tomo II, *Índices y Láminas*, Publicaciones de Arqueología Hispánica, II, Serie Primera. Monografías sobre cerámicas hispánicas, 2, Valencia, 1967-1968.

**Los Villares, No. 20.01** Vessel (Pl. LXI)

*Material and Colour*: Glazed composition of green colour.

*Measurements*: height 5 cm., diameter of mouth 3.2 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Archaeological Museum of Albacete (Inventory No. 3.403).

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Came to light in Burial No. 164, which was excavated in the second campaign conducted by Sánchez Jiménez in the Hoya de Santa Ana in the year 1942.[2] It seems that the remaining furniture of this tomb is not known, no account of it having been published.

*Bibliography*: Sánchez Jiménez, *Excavaciones*, Pl. LVI, 6. García y Bellido, *AJArch.*, LIII, 2, p. 151, Pl. XXI, A. Trías, *Cerámicas griegas*, I, p. 422, II, Pl. CLXXXVI, 2.

*Date*: The piece can be dated to the middle of the 6th century.

*Description*: Naucratis aryballos, well preserved. It has a discoid mouth, with a flat handle, and globular body with an incised decoration of vertical festoons.

*Parallels*: For the distribution of these aryballoi in Egypt and the Mediterranean, cf. Empúries No. 07.24. One comes from Ibiza.[3] Other examples have been found in Mailhac (No. 02.01 of my catalogue), Empúries (No. 07.24-07.28), El Molar (No. 19.04), and La Bobadilla.[4]

*Conclusion*: Vessel manufactured in Egypt. In this connection cf. my *Conclusion* on Mailhac No. 02.01 and Empúries Nos. 07.23 and 07.24.

## 21. EL CIGARRALEJO. MULA (MURCIA)

El Cigarralejo is a hill 340 m. high situated 1.5 km. north-east of the hamlet of Mula on the right bank of the River Mula.[1] Access to the summit of Cigarralejo is difficult and throughout the locality there are remains of buildings going back to the Roman period. El Cigarralejo was

---

[2] Sánchez Jiménez, *Excavaciones*, Pl. LVI, b.

[3] García y Bellido, *Hisp. Graeca*, Láminas, Pl. LXVI.

[4] Maluquer, *Memoria 1972*, pp. 45 ff. Maluquer, Picazo y Rincón, *La Bobadilla*, pp. 16 ff., Pl. IV.

[1] Cuadrado, *Santuario del Cigarralejo*, p. 13.

the site of an Iberian sanctuary, to judge from the numerous votive objects which have been found there.

The Necropolis of El Cigarralejo is situated on the north-east of the hill. It is outside the Roman enclosure and in some terraces sheer above the River Mula.[2] Cuadrado has already excavated some hundreds of tombs, showing how intensively the site was occupied. This Necropolis seems to have gone out of use before the Roman period. Its tombs, protected by a tumular paving, lie in six levels on top of one another, which fixes a complete though complicated relative chronology for them and the material found in them.[3] All are cremation tombs, in urns, and the two sexes are perfectly distinguished by their respective furniture, the males being accompanied by weapons, the females lacking these and having a great quantity of ornaments instead. The chronology of the Necropolis has been established as extending from the 4th to 3rd centuries.

El Cigarralejo was discovered by chance by Cuadrado, who has been investigating the deposit since 1946. A memoir of the excavations was published as long ago as 1950.[4] Today a complete monograph on the deposit is in an advanced stage of preparation, while some of its main problems, and its most interesting material, have been the subject of several articles among which that on the "Pre-Campanian" pottery[5] is of most interest to us here.

From El Cigarralejo an Egyptian amulet is known. References are made also to a scarab supposed to have come to light in Tomb No. 42 of this deposit.[6] I have personally consulted Señor Cuadrado about this, and he informs me that the scarab in question does not exist. No scarab, therefore, has been found at El Cigarralejo. In reality we have a simple confusion. The scarab in question which was found together with hinged fibulae comes from Tomb 42 at Villaricos.[7]

*Bibliography*

Emeterio Cuadrado Díaz, *Excavaciones en el Santuario Ibérico del Cigarralejo (Mula, Murcia)*, Informes y Memorias, No. 21, Madrid, 1950.

Emeterio Cuadrado Díaz, *Die iberische Siedlung von El Cigarralejo bei Murcia*, in *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz*, 8, Mainz, 1961, pp. 26ff.

E. Cuadrado, *Cerámica ática de barniz negro de la necrópolis de El Cigarralejo (Mula, Murcia)*, in *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina*, X, Valencia, 1963, pp. 97ff.

[2] Cuadrado, *Santuario del Cigarralejo*, p. 169.

[3] Cuadrado, *APL*, X, p. 99.

[4] Cuadrado, *Santuario del Cigarralejo*.

[5] Cuadrado, *APL*, X, pp. 97 ff.

[6] Fletcher, *La Solivella*, p. 55. Ramos Folqués, *RSL*, XXXIV, 1-3, p. 367.

[7] Cuadrado, *Zephyrus*, VIII, p. 50.

Gloria Trías de Arribas, *Cerámicas griegas de la Península Ibérica*. Tomo I, *Texto*, Publicaciones de Arqueología Hispánica, II. Serie Primera. Monografías sobre cerámicas hispánicas, 2, Valencia, 1967.

**El Cigarralejo, No. 21.01** Amulet (Pl. LXI)

*Material and Colour*: Glazed composition.

*Measurements*: height 5.8 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Cuadrado Collection, Mula (Inventory No. 1667).

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found during the 1955 campaign in Tomb No. 180, belonging to Sector 7-8, Group 7 of the Necropolis. Below this tomb was No. 187, dated to the second quarter of the 4th century, and below that No. 193, dated to the first quarter of the same century. Tomb No. 180 is female, and its furniture consists of a pear-shaped urn, a bone needle, a spindle-whorl, the Egyptian amulet, and an incomplete patera of "Pre-Campanian" ware (Inventory No. 1669), Lamboglia's Form 21, with fine walls and rim not much curved. The middle of the bottom is missing, so that it is not known whether it had an omphalos. The rest of the dish is thinner than the walls. The foot is curved, not thick, with well-marked claw. The burnish is intense black, changing to chestnut inside the base and redder on the outside, with the ridge and hollow of the foot left in resist. The decoration must have been of intertwined palmettes, of which six volutes are all that can now be seen, done with strokes inside and dots outside. The approximate dimensions of the patera are: diameter of rim 22 cm.; greatest diameter 23 cm.; external diameter of the base 11.4 cm.; relation between the diameter of the rim and the depth of the dish 6.11:1. Exact dimensions: height over all 5.7 cm.; depth of dish 3.6 cm.; height of foot 1.8 cm. The date of this piece, according to Cuadrado, is in the third quarter of the 4th century.[8]

*Bibliography*: Cuadrado, *JRGZM*, 8, p. 31.[9]

*Date*: The tomb is datable in exact fashion, as we have seen, to the third quarter of the 4th century, a dating which agrees with that of the amulet since pieces of this type can be dated within the 4th century.

*Description*: Anthropomorphic amulet of the falcon-headed god Horus, in a good state of preservation. Horus is standing, with a back pillar reaching

[8] The only piece from the furniture of this tomb of which an account has so far been published is this very patera: Cuadrado, *APL*, X, pp. 108 (fig. 7, 29), 151 f., Pl. IV, 29.

[9] I must thank Señor Emeterio Cuadrado for all the information he has given me, as also for his drawing of the piece.

the level of his head. He wears a crown consisting of a fluted object surmounted by three crests, a degenerate form of the *pschent* or crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. Below this crown and on the back of the head appears the *nemes*, fluted, descending over his shoulders. His arms hang stiffly downwards tight against his body. He wears a kilt covering his waist and the upper part of his legs. He advances one foot in a walking posture, while the other, very stylized, remains attached to the back pillar. Both the figure and the pillar have a base. The amulet is transversely pierced, just between pillar and figure at about shoulder height. As usual in amulets like this all the features of the figure are highly stylized. Like the others, this amulet is disproportionately narrow compared with its other measurements, converting it almost into a plaque engraved or carved on both sides.

*Parallels*: The characteristics of this amulet are virtually identical with those found at Empúries (there also dated to the 4th century), La Bastida de les Alcuses, L'Albufereta, El Tossal de Manises, El Cabecico del Tesoro and Villaricos. For its parallels in the Mediterranean area, including Egypt, cf. Empúries No. 07.17.

*Conclusion*: I consider this type of piece Egyptian, but with some reserves. In this connection cf. my remarks on Empúries No. 07.17.

## 22. EL CABECICO DEL TESORO. VERDOLAY (MURCIA)

El Cabecico del Tesoro is situated close by the Convent of Santa Catalina del Monte and the hermitage of San Antonio el Pobre. On one of its slopes was found an Iberian necropolis, of the greatest importance for the number of its tombs and the richness of its grave-goods. Close by the Necropolis there is known to have been a settlement on the same site as the present village of Verdolay, which it has not been possible to explore archaeologically. A short distance away Mergelina in 1925 studied the Iberian sanctuary of La Luz.

The excavation of the Necropolis was begun by Mergelina in 1935 and continued by Nieto from 1942 onward. By 1947 about 480 burials had been excavated.[1] Nieto dated the beginning of the Necropolis to the 5th century, and this would be the period to which the numerous sculptural remains must be assigned.[2] The Necropolis seems to have remained in use till the 2nd century, a terminal date matched by the furniture of some of the tombs.[3] However, these estimates must remain provisional while we still

[1] Nieto, *III CASE*, p. 177.
[2] Nieto, *III CASE*, p. 183.
[3] Sanmartí, *Ampurias*, 35, pp. 164 ff.

await the definitive publication of the whole Necropolis assemblage, permitting a full assessment of the furniture of all its burials.

In the Cabecico del Tesoro de Verdolay Necropolis have been found one scarab and five amulets of Egyptian type.[4]

*Bibliography*

Gratiniano Nieto, *Noticia de las excavaciones realizadas en la necrópolis hispánica del Cabecico del Tesoro, Verdolay (Murcia)*, in *Boletín de Trabajos del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, VI, Valladolid, 1939-1940, pp. 137 ff.

G. Nieto Gallo, *La necrópoli hispánica del Cabecico del Tesoro, Verdolay (Murcia). Tercera campaña de excavaciones (Octubre de 1942)*, in *Boletín de Trabajos del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, IX, Valladolid, 1942-1943, pp. 191 ff.

Gratiniano Nieto Gallo, *La necrópoli hispánica del Cabecico del Tesoro, Verdolay (Murcia). Cuarta campaña de excavaciones*, in *Boletín de Trabajos del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, X, Valladolid, 1943-1944, pp. 165 ff.

Gratiniano Nieto Gallo, *La necrópolis hispánica del Cabecico del Tesoro, Verdolay (Murcia)*, in *Crónica del III Congreso Arqueológico del Sudeste Español, Murcia 1947*, Cartagena, 1948, pp. 176 ff.

Manuel Jorge Aragoneses, *Museo Arqueológico de Murcia*, Guías de los Museos de España, IV, Madrid, 1956.

Gloria Trías de Arribas, *Cerámicas griegas de la Península Ibérica*. Tomo I, *Texto*, Publicaciones de Arqueología Hispánica, II. Serie Primera, Monografías sobre cerámicas hispánicas, 2, Valencia, 1967.

E. Sanmartí-Grego, *El taller de las pequeñas estampillas en la Península Ibérica*, in *Ampurias*, 35, Barcelona, 1973, pp. 135 ff.

**El Cabecico del Tesoro, No. 22.01** Scarab (Pl. LXII and LXV)

*Material and Colour*: Green paste.

*Measurements*: length 1.45 cm., breadth 1.1 cm., height 0.9 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Archaeological Museum of Murcia (Inventory No. 2403).

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found in Burial No. 586 of the Cabecico del Tesoro Necropolis, together with 58 spindle-whorls, some bone objects, and the remaining objects of Egyptian type known from this Necropolis.[5]

*Bibliography*: Unpublished.[6]

---

[4] I thank Professor G. Nieto Gallo for having authorized me to study these pieces, and Señor M. Jorge Aragoneses, director of the Murcia Archaeological Museum, for the facilities he gave me in doing the work. The material is unpublished and I am indebted to Professor M. Almagro Basch for informing me of its existence.

[5] Those objects are on view in the Murcia Archaeological Museum, pending the definitive publication on this Necropolis.

[6] I can mention only one brief allusion by Jorge Aragoneses, *MArqMurcia*, p. 39, to the existence of this and the other Egyptian-type pieces from the Necropolis.

*Date*: Perhaps 4th century.[7]

*Description*: Of good technique, longitudinally pierced, with some imperfections. Dorsal scheme Type V, with the thorax rounded and separated from the elytra by two parallel lines. Legs well indicated. On the reverse, a man standing or squatting, facing left, holding in his right hand something impossible to determine. The design, in Hellenizing style, is surrounded by a line.

*Parallels*: Paste scarabs with a Hellenizing design are frankly rare. Only a few examples can be quoted, more or less doubtful owing to their condition, from Carthage,[8] and another from Empúries, my No. 07.08.

*Conclusion*: Egyptian scarab made for export, or else a Pseudoegyptian scarab if it is granted that the paste technique was known in the 4th century outside Egypt.

**El Cabecico del Tesoro, No. 22.02** Amulet (Pl. LXII and LXV)

*Material and Colour*: Whitish glazed composition.

*Measurements*: height 2.5 cm., breadth 1 cm., thickness 0.5 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Archaeological Museum of Murcia (Inventory No. 2401).

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found in the same tomb as the previous piece, No. 22.01.

*Bibliography*: Unpublished.

*Date*: 4th century, probably.

*Description*: Image of Ptah-as-foetus or Ptah *Pataikos*, in a bad state of preservation. The figure has a small base and the deity, with legs arched, rests his hands on his knees. The amulet is transversely pierced through the neck.

*Parallels*: The amulets with a representation of Ptah *Pataikos*, of Egyptian origin, are very numerous in the Phoenician, Punic,[9] and Etruscan[10] worlds. In the Iberian Peninsula I can quote examples from Cadiz,[11] from Gorham's Cave, my Nos. 31.30 and 31.31, and from Villaricos, Nos. 23.11-23.22: some of these last could in reality be images of Bes, since the two figures are frequently confused by scholars.

*Conclusion*: Amulet probably Egyptian, but with some reserves.

[7] The dating of Tomb No. 586 must evidently await a better knowledge of the whole Necropolis.

[8] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 173 ff.

[9] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, pp. 269 ff.

[10] Bissing, *St. Etr.*, IV, Pl. XXX.

[11] Quintero, *Cádiz, 1929-1931*, pp. 17 f., Pl. III. Blázquez, *Tartessos*, p. 26.

**El Cabecico del Tesoro, No. 22.03** Amulet (Pl. LXIII and LXV)

*Material and Colour*: Green Glazed Composition with a fine glaze of the same colour well preserved.

*Measurements*: height 6.1 cm., thickness 1.6 cm., breadth 0.9 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Archaeological Museum of Murcia (Inventory No. 2402).

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found in the same tomb as No. 22.01.

*Bibliography*: Unpublished.

*Date*: 4th century, probably.

*Description*: Anthropomorphic and falcon-headed image of Horus, in walking posture. The front part of the head is broken, with a transverse fracture at the height of the perforation in the middle of the body. Rigid and hieratic in form. The figure has a small base and is supported by a back-pillar. The god wears the three-pointed crown characteristic of amulets of this type. He wears a kilt fluted at the waist.

*Parallels*: Parallels for amulets of this type are very numerous in the Mediterranean area, cf. Empúries No. 07.17. In the Iberian Peninsula we have parallels from Empúries, La Bastida de les Alcuses, L'Albufereta, El Tossal de Manises, and Villaricos.

*Conclusion*: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves.

**El Cabecico del Tesoro, No. 22.04** Amulet (Pl. LXIII and LXV)

*Material and Colour*: White glazed composition with green glaze.

*Measurements*: height 2.4 cm., breadth 0.8 cm., thickness 1.1 cm.

*Place of Keeping*: Archaeological Museum of Murcia (Inventory No. 2400).

*Circumstances of Discovery*: Found in the same tomb as Scarab No. 22.01.

*Bibliography*: Unpublished.

*Date*: 4th Century, probably.

*Description*: Image of the goddess Thueris, under her form of a female hippopotamus, big with young. The goddess, in an upright walking posture, has a small base and is supported by a back-pillar with striations of fish-bone form from which emerges at neck height a suspension ring. The amulet is split across its upper part.

*Parallels*: Amulets of this type are relatively common, both in Egypt where

they originate[12] and in Carthage.[13] On the other hand I know of no other example in the Iberian Peninsula.

*Conclusion* : Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves.

**El Cabecico del Tesoro, No. 22.05** Amulet (Pl. LXIV and LXV)

*Material and Colour* : Green glazed composition.

*Measurements* : height 2.8 cm., breadth 0.6 cm., thickness 1 cm.

*Place of Keeping* : Archaeological Museum of Murcia (Inventory No. 2404).

*Circumstances of Discovery* : Found in the same burial as the scarab No. 22.01.

*Bibliography* : Unpublished.

*Date* : 4th century, probably.

*Description* : Deity of not very distinctive features, possibly the god Thot. The figure has a small base and is supported by a back-pillar. The anthropomorphic figure, with the head of a *Cynocephalus*, is naked, upright, in walking posture, and wears a tall headdress. The amulet has a transverse hole through its central part.

*Parallels* : See our No. 23.23.

*Conclusion* : Amulet, probably Egyptian.

**El Cabecico del Tesoro, No. 22.06** Amulet (Pl. LXIV and LXV)

*Material and Colour* : Green glazed composition.

*Measurements* : height 2.4 cm., breadth 0.8 cm., thickness 1.3 cm.

*Place of Keeping* : Archaeological Museum of Murcia (Inventory No. 2405).

*Circumstances of Discovery* : Found in the same burial as the Scarab No. 22.01.

*Bibliography* : Unpublished.

*Date* : 4th Century, probably.

*Description* : Figure in a bad state of preservation, probably a falcon in an attitude of repose on a base. The amulet is split in two in its lower part. It has a suspension ring on the back. Its features are scarcely discernible, but it seems to be a representation of Falcon Horus.

---

[12] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 268.

[13] Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, p. 274.

*Parallels*: In the Iberian Peninsula we know of two examples from Villaricos, Nos. 23.44 and 23.45. Though a rather rare type of amulet it is at any rate widely distributed, both in Egypt and in the Punic world of the Western Mediterranean. Cf. below, my remarks on No. 23.44.

*Conclusion*: Egyptian amulet, but with some reserves.

# INDEX


Acebuchal 76
Aha 81
Aitona 100
Akhbit 37, 39
Akra Leuke 113
Alacant 113, 116 see Alicante
Albacete (Province) 129
Albacete Archaeological Museum 130
L'Albufereta d'Alacant 54, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 133, 136, plates LVI-LVIII
Alcalà de Xivert 108
L'Alcúdia d'Elx 118, 119, 120, plate LIX
L'Alcúdia Museum, Elx 120
Alemanni 31
Algars (River) 102
Alicante 113 see Alacant
Alicante (Province) 113, 116, 118, 121, 122
Alicante Provincial Museum 115, 117, 124, 126, 128
Almansa 111
Almuñécar 2
Amasis 11, 12, 65 (note 166)
Amenhotep III 18, 85
Amposta 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97
Ampurias 1, 71 see Empúries
Amun 93, 127
Amun-Re 86
Andalusia 1, 65, 111
Anseduna 5 see Ensérune
Anseresa 5
Anserona 5 see Ensérune
Apis 62
Aragon (Lower) 102, 103
Asia 50
Asia Minor 78
Athens 30
Attica 30
Aude (Département) 8, 12, 18
Aude (River) 5, 9, 13
Avienus 70

Bages (Lagoon) 18, 19
Baltic Regions 25
Banyeres del Penedès 77
Barcelona 51, 52, 68, 77, 78 (note 9), 91, 104
Barcelona Archaeological Museum 31 (note 12), 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 52, 58, 62, 64, 68
La Bastida de les Alcuses 54, 111, 112, 113, 115, 118, 133, 136
Batea 102
Beni Hassan 50, 64 (note 160), 88
El-Bersha 50, 88
Bes 25, 38, 39, 47 (note 77), 73, 74, 75, 81, 101, 102, 119, 135
Béziers 5, 8
La Bobadilla 11, 65, 128, 130
Bonjoan 66
Book of the Dead 59
Borely Museum, Marseilles 64
Bougna 16
Bronze Age 9, 18, 24 (note 6), 119, 121

El Cabecico del Tesoro 54, 113, 115, 118, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, plates LXII-LXV
Cadiz 135
Caesar 31
Cairo Museum 34, 35, 43 (note 61), 49 (note 82), 65 (note 166), 82, 86 (note 42), 93, 99
Camp Alt d'En Sagrera 71
Can Canyís 18, 49, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 106, 108, 110, plates XLVIII, XLIX
Canyoles (River) 111
Capestang (Marsh) 5
Carmona 76
Carthage 21, 25, 30, 35 (note 26), 36, 37 (note 34), 38, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50 (note 89), 53, 54, 55, 56, 59, 60 (note 139), 61, 70, 73, 76, 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 89, 90, 93, 94, 97, 102, 106, 107 (note 30), 110, 124 (note 10), 125, 126, 135, 137
Carthaginians 30, 34 (note 14)
El Castellar Colorat 121, plate LX
El Castell de Peralada 26, 59 (note 134)
Castellón (Province) 108
Castellón de la Plana Museum of the Diputación Provincial 109
Castillo de Mairena del Alcor 76
Castillo de Monteagudo 129
Catalonia 1, 23, 26 (note 16)
Cato, Marcus Porcius 70
Cayla 8, 9, 11
Ceres 60
Cerro del Villar 73, 101

Cerro de San Cristóbal 2
Chalcolithic 18, 20, 119
Chemmis 37
Chephren 94
Chinchilla 129
El Cigarralejo 54, 112, 113, 115, 118, 130, 131, 132, plate LXI
Cinca (River) 100
La Ciutadella 23
Closa Batallera 74
Conca 80, 83 (note 29), 84 (note 34), 87 (note 44), 89 (note 53), 90 (note 57)
Corinth 30
Cortijo de las Sombras 85, 127
Crevillent 121
Cruz del Negro 76
Cyprus 30, 106
Cypsela 69, 70

Les Deillals 17
Delta (of the Nile) 12, 34, 96
Demeter 72
Dermech 73, 102
Djebel Tarif 50
Douïmès 95
Doul (Lagoon) 18
Drôme (Département) 40

Ebro (River) 30, 49, 78, 91, 98, 99, 100, 102, 108, 109
Egypt 11, 12, 18, 20, 22, 34, 37, 43, 45, 50 (note 90), 53, 54, 55, 56, 59, 60 (note 139), 61, 62, 64, 66, 73, 74, 82, 85, 86, 87, 89, 94, 99, 102, 107, 113, 115, 126, 128, 130, 133, 135, 136, 138
Egypt (Lower) 35, 38
Egyptians 12, 26, 37, 50, 81, 85
Elche 118 see Elx
Elx 118, 120
Elysics 13
Empordà 27, 29, 77, 78
Emporiae 30, 31
Emporion 1, 26, 28, 29, 30, 35, 48, 64, 65, 66, 69, 70, 78, 112, 115 see Empúries
Empúries 1, 2, 11, 21, 26 (note 1), 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 62, 64, 66, 67, 68, 88, 106, 113, 115, 117, 118, 126, 128, 130, 133, 135, 136, plates XXXV-XLIV
Empúries Monographic Museum 29, 31 (note 12), 35, 44, 47, 52, 57 (note 124), 60, 62, 64, 66

Enserona 5 see Ensérune
Enseruna 5 (note 2) see Ensérune
Ensérune 1, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, plate XXXI
L'Entari 8
L'Escala 1, 28, 68
Etruria 17, 30, 40, 66, 68, 80, 81, 82 (note 24), 83, 84, 87, 89, 90, 94, 97, 110
Etruscans 30

Favara 102, 103, 104
Fayum 99
France 1, 26, 40
Franks 31

La Garita Vella 77
Garouilla Road 19
Gerona 28
Gerona (Province) 1, 23, 26, 28, 69
Gerona Archaeological Museum 24, 31 (note 12), 33, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 61, 62, 64, 72
Gerona Diocesan Museum 67
Gibraltar 1, 36, 59, 62
Gorham's Cave 1, 135
Grand-Bassin 8, 9, 10, 11, plates XXIX-XXX
Greece 66
Greeks 12, 30, 34, 35, 37, 70

Harpocrates 37
Hathor 44, 62
Hellenic Period (in Egypt) 38 (note 42) see Ptolemaic Period
Hellenistic Period 23, 24
Heracles 46, 47
Hérault (Département) 5
Hieraconpolis 50
High Empire 31
*Ḫnsw* 86 see Khonsu
Horus 34, 37, 38, 39, 47, 49, 50, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 80, 81, 82, 88, 89, 94, 95, 105, 106, 113, 115, 116, 118, 132, 136, 137 see Harpocrates
Hoya de Santa Ana 11, 128, 129, 130
*Ḥr* 89, 105 see Horus
*Ḥr-mn* 106 see Psammetichus II
*Ḥr-mnḫ-ib* 89 see Psammetichus II
*Ḥr-mn-Rʿ* 89 see Psammetichus II
Huelva 106
Hyksos 93, 94, 99
Hyksos Period 99

Iberia 27
Iberian Peninsula 11, 18, 24 (note 6), 26, 28, 30, 31 (note 12), 53, 54, 56, 59, 65, 73, 80,

83, 85, 89, 101, 106, 118, 127, 128, 135, 136, 137, 138
Ibero-Mediterranean Littoral 9, 28
Ibiza 11, 12, 21, 30, 36, 38, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 54, 56, 59, 65, 73, 76, 82, 102, 125, 128, 130 see Puig des Molins
Ibn el Beithar 25
Idalion 106
Ilergetae 99
l'Ilette 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 43, plate XXXIII
Ilici 113
Illa d'En Reixac 69
*'Imn* 127 see Amun
*'Imn-R'* 86 see Amun-Re
Indigetes 29
Institute of Archaeology and Prehistory in the University of Barcelona 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 104
Ionia 30
Iron Age 77, 100, 103
Isis 37, 38, 39, 55, 56, 58
Italy 5, 26

Jardin Dauzat 19
Jebut 73, 99, 100, 101, plate LII
La Joya 89, 106

Karalis 73, 102
Kese 91
Khonsu 86

Lady of Elx 119
Languedoc 1, 5, 7 (note 8), 15, 20, 27, 30
Languedoc (Western) 1, 5, 85 see Languedoc
Late Period 81, 85
Lattes 17
Leontopolis 34
Lérida 100, 101
Lérida (Province) 99
Lérida Archaeological Museum of the Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses 100
Leukon Teichos 113
Lions, Gulf of 15
Livius 31 (note 9)
Lucentum 113
La Luz 133
Lynkeus 41

Maât 93
Madrid 65 (note 166)
Mailhac 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 64, 65, 66, 67, 128, 130, plates XXIX, XXX
Mailhac Archaeological Museum 10
Mailhacian 13
Mairena del Alcor 76
Malaga (Province) 73
Manetho 82
Marseilles 29, 64
Marsiliana d'Albenga 94 (note 13)
Martí 45, 57, 60, plates XXXVIII, XLI, XLIII
Mas del Ruella 100
Mas de Mussols 78, 82, 84, 87, 91, 92, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 108, 109, 110, plates L, LI
Masies de Sant Miquel 77
Massalia 29, 30
Matarranya (River) 102
Mediterranean 18, 25, 113, 130
Mediterranean (Western) 17, 33, 34, 39, 138
Mediterranean Iberian Littoral 28 see Ibero-Mediterranean Littoral
Mediterranean Littoral of Andalusia 1
Mediterranean Littoral of the Iberian Peninsula 54
Memphis 107 (note 30)
Mendes 35
Menkheperre 93 see Thutmosis III
Mes 85
Meseta 111
Mianes 78, 91, 108, 109, 110
Middle Age 5, 69
Middle Kingdom 50, 64 (note 160), 81, 88
Los Millares 24 (note 6)
Min 74, 75
*Mn-ḫpr-R'* 85 see Thutmosis III
Mogador 92
Moixent 111
El Molar 11, 65, 79 (note 14), 122, 123, 124 (note 10), 125, 126, 127, 128, 130, plates LIX, LX
Montady (Marsh) 5
Montesa Valley 111
Monte Sirai 76
Montlaurès 5, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 85, plates XXXI, XXXII
Moon 59
Mula 130, 132
Mula (River) 130, 131
Murcia 1, 129
Murcia (Province) 129, 130, 133
Murcia Archaeological Museum 134, 135, 136, 137
Murviel-les-Montpellier 7 (note 8)
Mut 56

Narbonne 12, 13, 18, 85
Narbonne Archaeological Museum 16
National Archaeological Museum, Madrid 65 (note 166), 103
Naucratis 11, 18, 20, 21, 30, 35, 43, 49, 52 (note 103), 53, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 87, 88, 89, 90, 96, 97, 98, 99, 106, 107, 109, 110, 128, 130
*Nb-M3ʿt-Rʿ* 18, 85 see Amenhotep III
Neapolis of Emporion 35, 36, 62
Nephthys 38
New Kingdom 18, 66 (note 172), 93, 94, 99
Nile 62
Nile Delta see Delta (of the Nile)
Nissan 5, 17
North-East Wall (of Empúries) 47, 48, plate XXXIX

Odeon 73 (note 13)
Old Kingdom 94
Olympiads 23
Ora Maritima 70
Orb (River) 5, 9
Orvieto Museum 40 (note 50)

Palace of Peralada 28
Palaiapolis of Emporion 29
Palaiapolis of Ullastret 69
La Palma 91
Pals 69
Pataikos see Ptah Pataikos
Pech Maho 13, 17
La Pedrera 75
Pegasus 8, 125
Penedès 80
Peninsula see Iberian Peninsula
Peralada 26, 27, 28, plate XXXV
Petubastis 106
Peyriac-de-Mer 18, 20, 43
Peyriac-de-Mer, Museum of the Société Archéologique 19
Phocaeans 29
Phoenicia 66, 70
Phoenicians 12
Pinyeres 49, 79, 102, 103, 104
Plateau des Cailles 40
Pliny 25
Popilius Street 115
Portitxol 29, 33, 53, 56, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67
Pratviel Vineyard 19
Psammêtichos 82 see Psammetichus
Psammetichus 82, 94, 95
Psammetichus I 83, 94, 110
Psammetichus II 80, 82, 83, 88, 89, 92, 95, 105, 106
*Psmṭk* 82, 95 see Psammetichus
Ptah Pataikos 135
Ptolemaic Period 59, 61 see Hellenic Period (in Egypt)
Puig de Sant Andreu 2, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 101, plates XLV-XLVII
Puig des Molins 65, 76 see Ibiza
Pushkin Museum 64
Pyramid Texts 37
Pyrenees 5 (note 2), 27

Qadesh 47

*Rʿ* 83, 89 see Re
Rameses III 7 (note 8)
Re 81, 83, 110
La Redorte 8
Rhode 23, 29
Rhodes 12, 23, 30, 64, 66, 128
Ría de Huelva 85
Ribatejo 53
Roman Period 9, 30, 47, 54, 60 (note 139), 114, 129, 130, 131
Romans 30, 70
Rome 30, 31
Roquizal del Rullo 102, 103
Roses 23, plate XXXIV
Roses, Gulf of 23, 29
Roussillon 27, 78

Saint Jean-de-Cas (River) 8
Saint-Valentin 13
Saite Period 18, 21, 34, 35, 54, 94, 99
San Antonio el Pobre 133
San Fulgencio 122
Santa Catalina del Monte 133
Santa Maria de Roses 23
Sant Martí d'Empúries 1, 28, 29, 62
Saqqara 34, 35
Saragossa 103
Sardinia 40, 54, 59, 73, 102
Scymnus 23 (note 3)
Segre (River) 99, 100
Segura (River) 122
Serra del Molar 122
Serra de Roda 23
Serra d'Irta 108
Serra Grossa 111
Seth 22, 37, 59, 84
Seville Archaeological Museum 76

Silenus 102
Sobek 99
La Solivella 79, 83, 90, 108, 109, 110, plates LIV, LV
Solsona 5
Soses 73, 99
Spain 5
Strabon 23 (note 3), 29 (note 4)
Sun 59, 83

Tanagra 72
Tanit 12, 118
Tarraco 31
Tarragona 91
Tarragona (Province) 77, 78, 91, 98, 102
Tartessus 92
Tell Ibn es-Salam 35
Tell Moqdam 34
La Tène 45, 74
Tharros 54, 59, 73, 102
Theophrastus 25
Thot 39, 59, 137
Thueris 81, 136
Thutmosis III 85 (note 41), 93
Tobarra 129
To-remu 34
Tortosa 91, 98, 99, plate LII
Tortosa Municipal Museum 98
Tossal del Moro 49, 79, 88, 89, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, plate LIII
Tossal de Manises 54, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 133, 136, plate LV
Tut-ankh-Amen 26

Ullastret 2, 26 (note 16), 69, 70, 71, 76 see Puig de Sant Andreu
Ullastret (Lake) 69
Ullastret Monographic Museum 71, 74, 75

Valencia 1, 108, 111
Valencia (Province) 111
Valencia Museum of Prehistory 112
Vendrell Municipal Museum 78 (note 8), 79, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90
Vendres (Marsh) 5
Verdolay 133, 134
Vetulonia 25
Via Domitiana 5
Via Heraclea 5
Los Villares 11, 65, 128, 129, 130, plate LXI
Villaricos 54, 59, 113, 115, 118, 131, 133, 135, 136, 138
Visigoths 119
Vulci 82 (note 24)

Western Languedoc 5 see Languedoc (Western)

Xàtiva 111

# LIST OF PLATES


XXIX-XXX Mailhac. Vessel No. 02.01 and furniture of Tomb 56 in the Grand-Bassin II Necropolis (According to Taffanel).

XXXI Ensérune. Scarab No. 01.02 (Photos : Guiraud).
Montlaurès. Scarab No. 03.03 (Photo : Guiraud).

XXXII Montlaurès. Scarab No. 03.04 (Photos : "Studio Sallis", Narbonne).

XXXIII L'Ilette. Scarab No. 04.01 (Photos : "Studio Sallis", Narbonne).

XXXIV Roses. Scarab No. 05.01 (Photos : Cura).

XXXV Peralada. Scarab No. 06.01 and other objects from the Necropolis (old photo) (Courtesy Maluquer de Motes).
Empúries. Scarab No. 07.01 (Photo : Museo de Gerona).

XXXVI Empúries. Scarabs No. 07.02, 07.03, 07.04, 07.05 and 07.06 (Photos : Museo Arqueológico de Barcelona).

XXXVII Empúries. Scarabs No. 07.07, 07.08, 07.10, 07.11 and 07.12 (Photos : Museo Arqueológico de Barcelona).

XXXVIII Empúries. Scarab No. 07.11 and furniture from inhumation tomb Martí No. 15 (According to Almagro).

XXXIX Empúries. Scarab No. 07.12 and furniture from cremation tomb No. 11 of the N. E. Wall (According to Almagro).

XL Empúries. Amulets No. 07.17 and 07.18 (Photos : Cura).

XLI Empúries. Amulet No. 07.19 and furniture from inhumation tomb Martí No. 112 (According to Almagro).

XLII Empúries. Amulet No. 07.20 (Photo : Museo Arqueológico de Barcelona).

XLIII Empúries. Amulet No. 07.21 and furniture from inhumation tomb Martí No. 96 (According to Almagro ; Photo : Cura).

XLIV Empúries. Vessels No. 07.23 in the form of a hedgehog, (a) before and (b) after restoration, 07.24, 07.25, 07.26, 07.27 and 07.28 (According to Trías).

XLV Puig de Sant Andreu. Figure of deity No. 08.01 (According to Oliva ; Photo : Cura).

XLVI Puig de Sant Andreu. Figure of deity No. 08.02 (According to Oliva ; Photo : Cura).

XLVII Puig de Sant Andreu. Panel No. 08.03 (Courtesy Oliva).

XLVIII Can Canyís. Scarabs and scaraboids (According to Vilaseca).

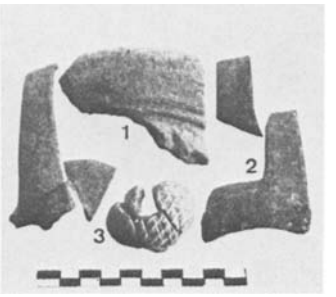
XLIX Can Canyís. Scarabs No. 09.01, 09.02, 09.03, 09.04, 09.05, 09.07, 09.08 and 09.09 and scaraboids No. 09.10, 09.11, 09.12, 09.13, 09.14 and 09.15.

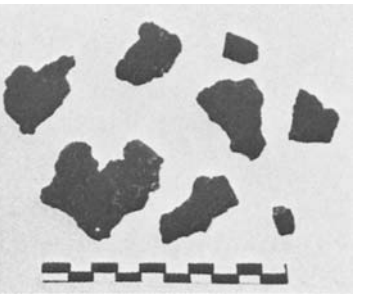
L Mas de Mussols. Scarabs No. 10.01, 10.02, 10.03 and 10.04 and scaraboid No. 10.05.

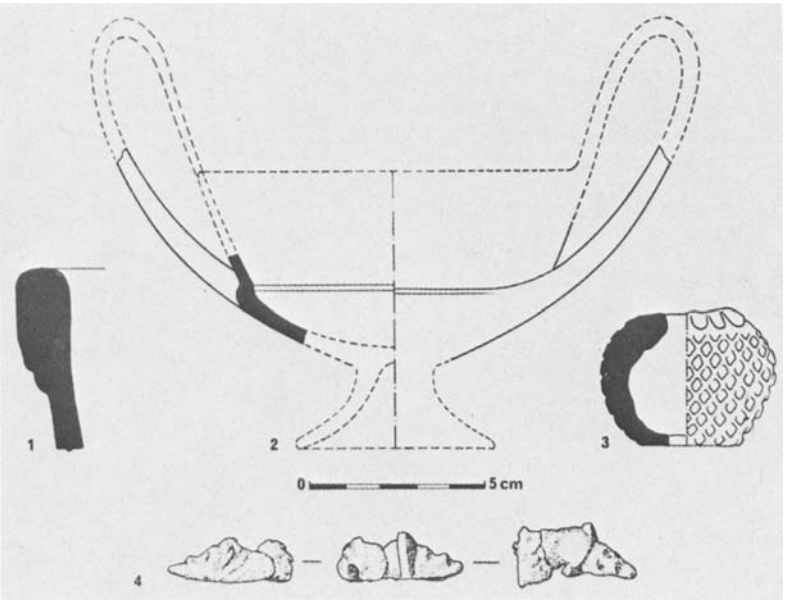
LI Mas de Mussols. Scarabs and scaraboid No. 10.01, 10.02, 10.03, 10.04 and 10.05 (Photos : J. Maluquer de Motes).

LII Tortosa (?). Scarab No. 10.51.
Jebut. Figure of deity No. 11.01 (According to Pita).

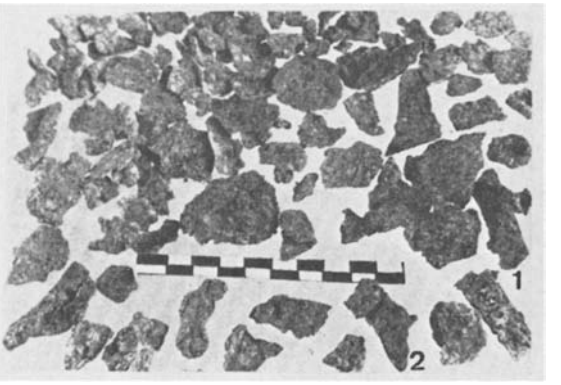
LIII Tossal del Moro. Scaraboid No. 12.01 (Bregante's drawing; According to Maluquer de Motes).
LIV La Solivella. Scarab No. 13.01 and furniture from Tomb 6 (According to Fletcher).
LV La Solivella. Scarab No. 13.01.
Tossal de Manises. Amulet No. 15.01 (According to Llobregat).
LVI L'Albufereta d'Alacant. Scarab No. 16.01 (According to Nordström) and amulet No. 16.02 (According to Llobregat).
LVII-LVIII L'Albufereta d'Alacant. Part of the furniture from Tomb 33 (According to Llobregat).
LIX L'Alcúdia. Scarab No. 17.01 (According to Ramos Folqués).
El Molar. Scarabs No. 19.01, 19.02 and 19.03 (According to Llobregat and Nordström).
LX El Castellar Colorat. Scarab No. 18.01.
El Molar. Various objects including vessel No. 19.04 (According to Senent).
El Molar. Fragments of vessel No. 19.04 (Drawing by Olaria).
LXI Los Villares. Vessel No. 20.01 (According to Trías).
El Cigarralejo. Amulet No. 21.01 and furniture of Tomb 180 (Courtesy Cuadrado).
LXII El Cabecico del Tesoro. Scarab No. 22.01 and amulet No. 22.02.
LXIII El Cabecico del Tesoro. Amulets No. 22.03 and 22.04.
LXIV El Cabecico del Tesoro. Amulets No. 22.05 and 22.06.
LXV El Cabecico del Tesoro. Furniture of tomb 586 (Courtesy Nieto).

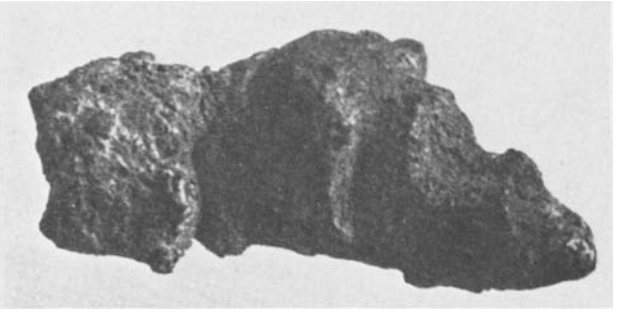

1
2
3

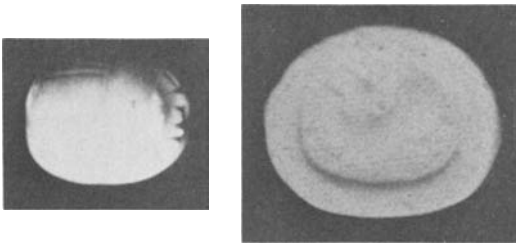



1
2
3
0
5 cm
4

## Plate XXX

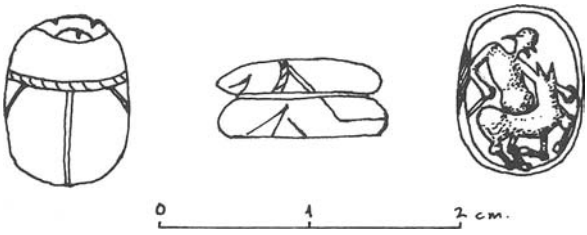




01.02

03.03

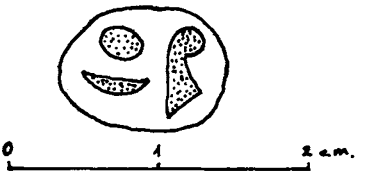



03.03

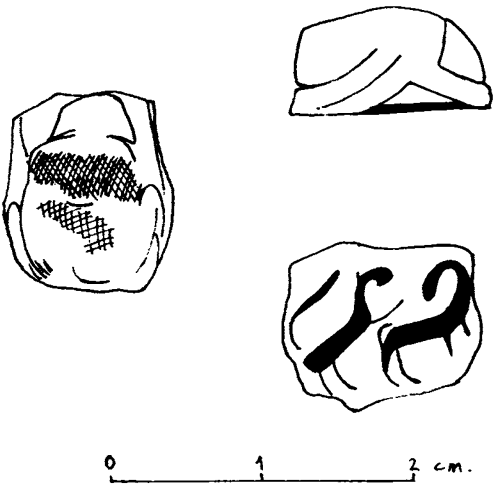
PLATE XXXII

03.04

03.04




03.04



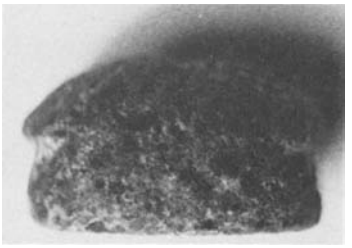

04.01

04.01

04.01

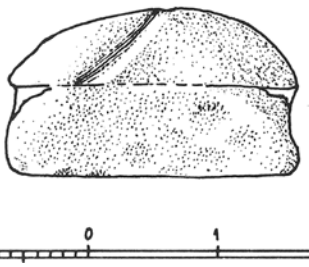
# Plate XXXIV

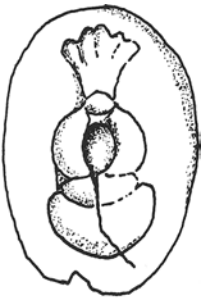
05.01



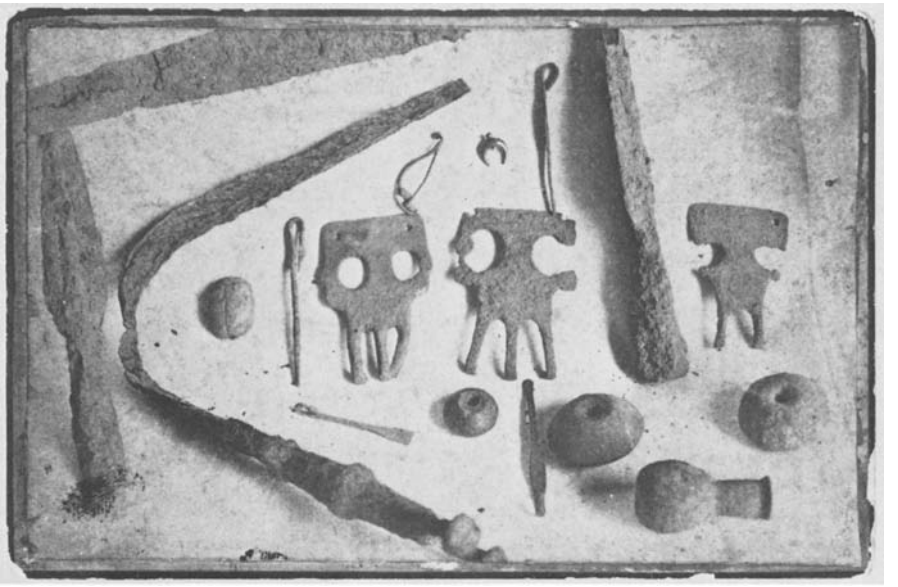
05.01

05.01



05.01



07.01

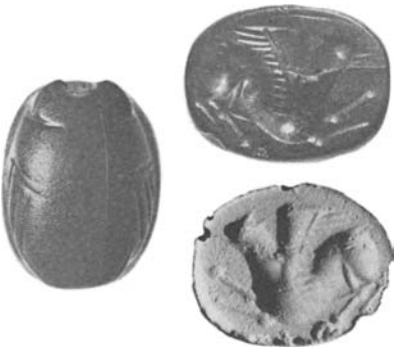
PLATE XXXVI

07.03

07.02

07.04

07.05



07.06

07.07

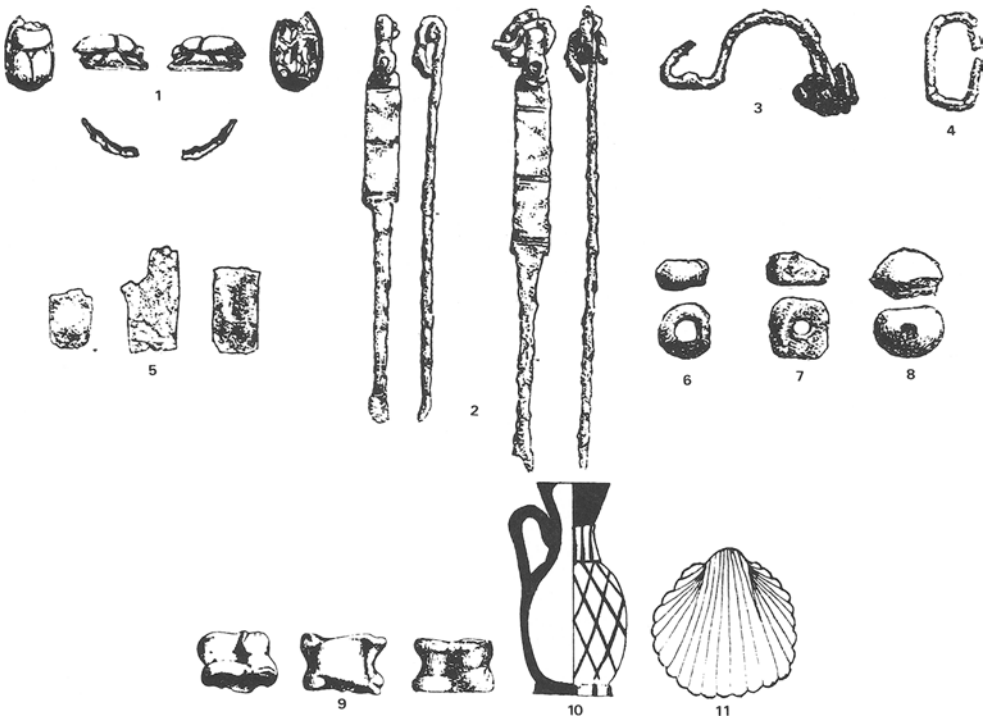
07.08

07.10

07.11

07.12

## Plate XXXVIII



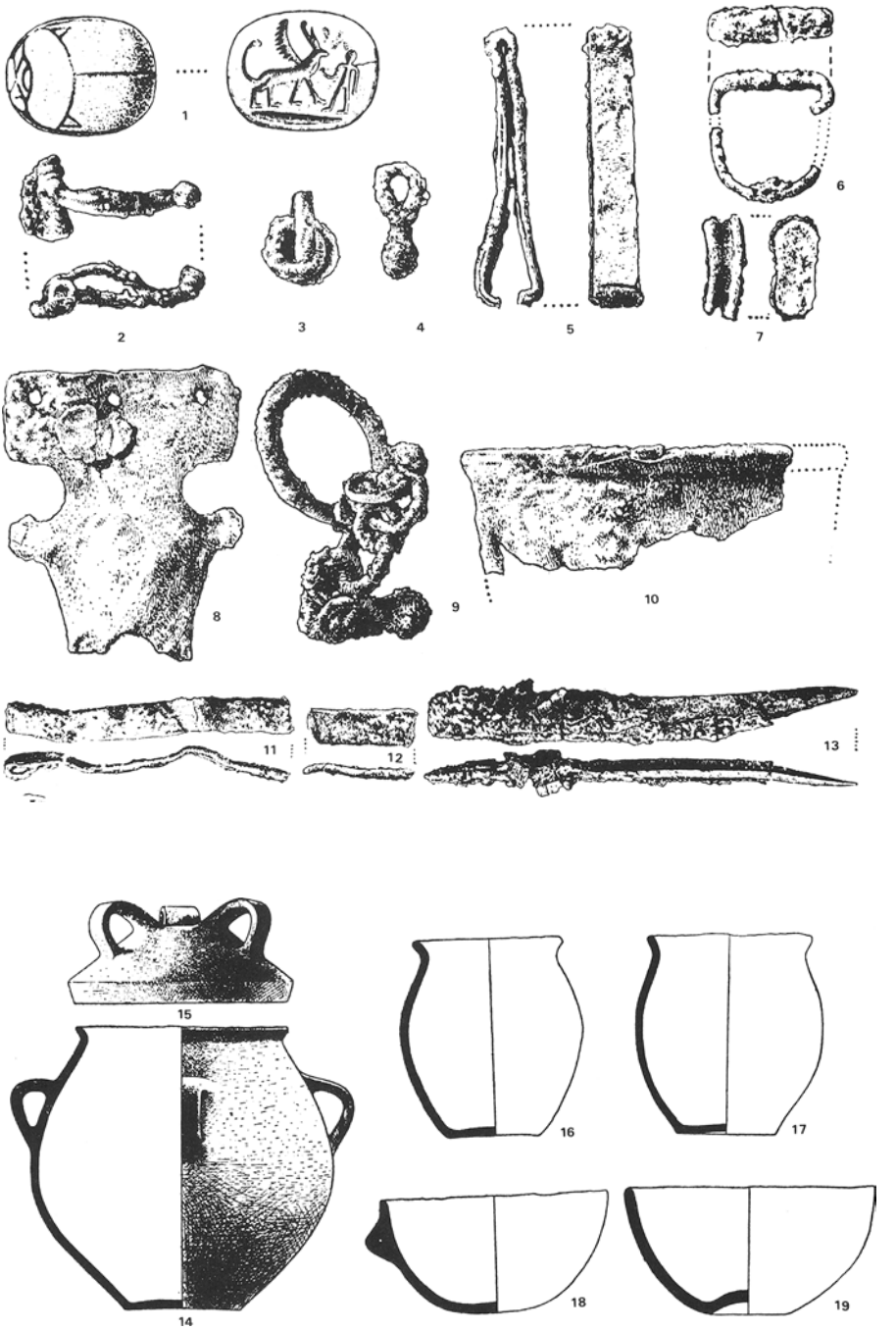
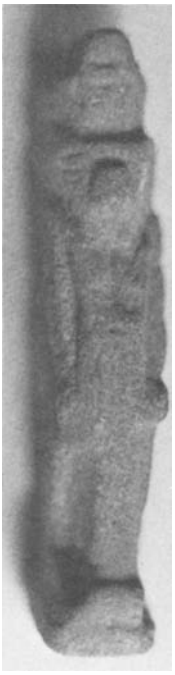
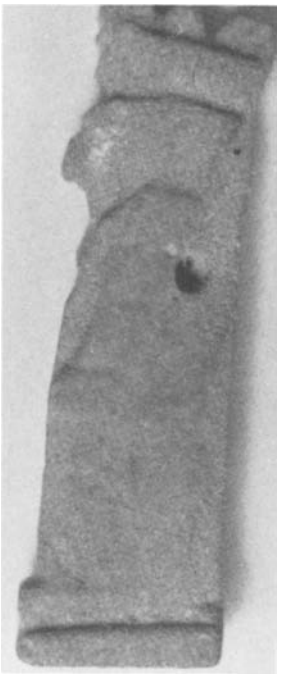

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19

PLATE XL



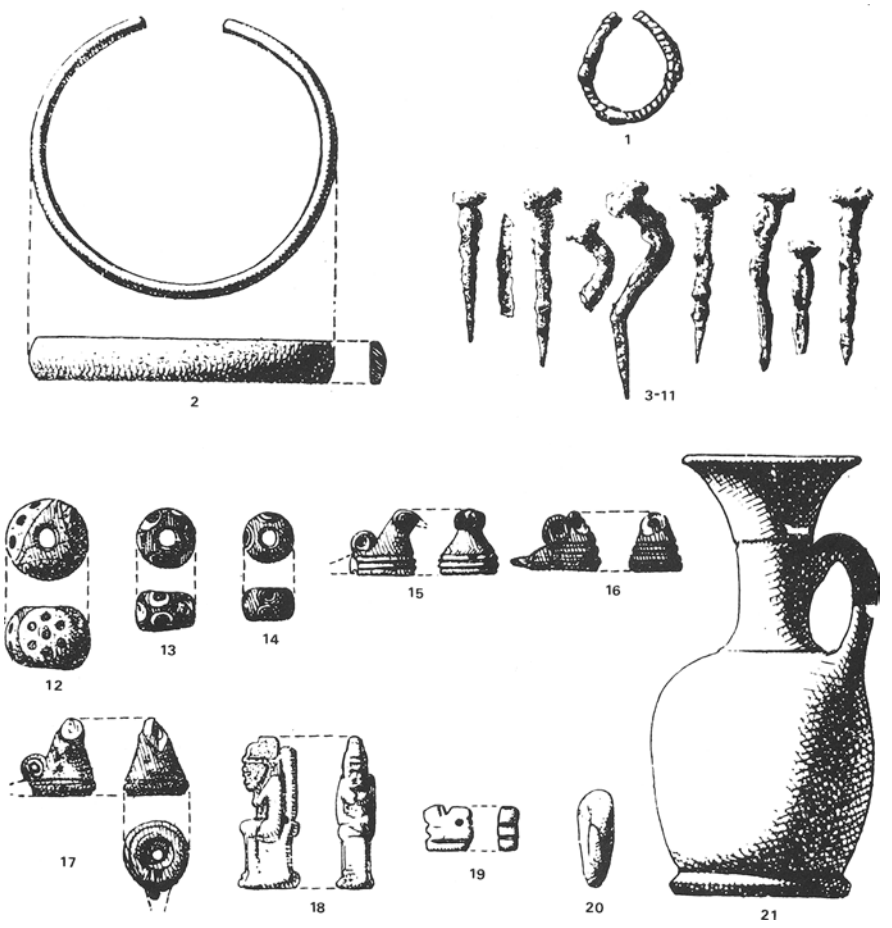
07.17



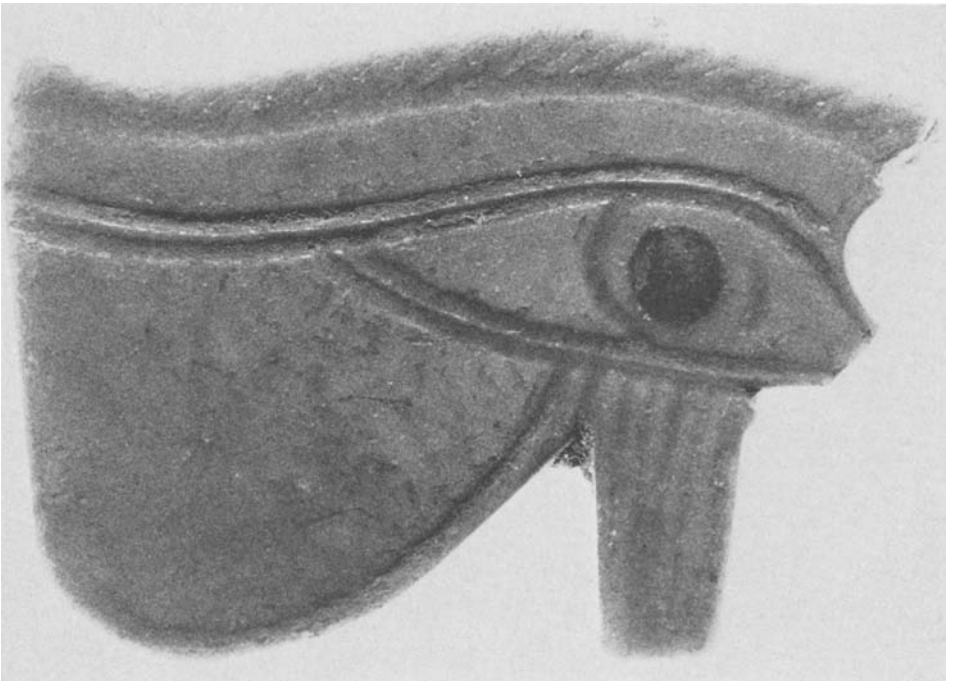
07.17

07.17 07.18

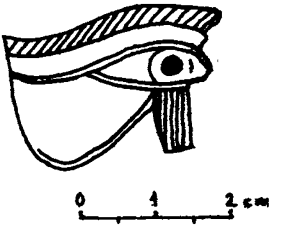
07.18


1
2
3-11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21

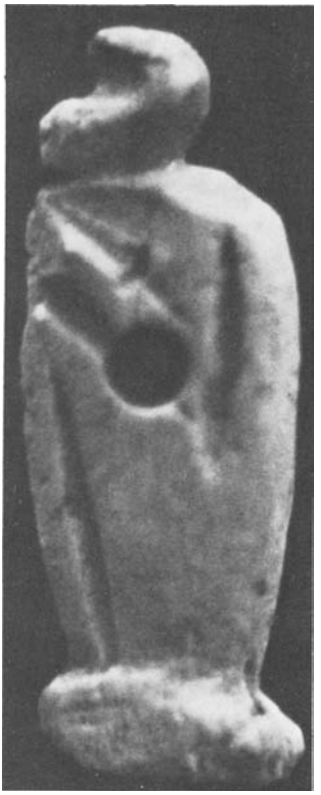
## Plate XLII



07.20




07.20



07.21

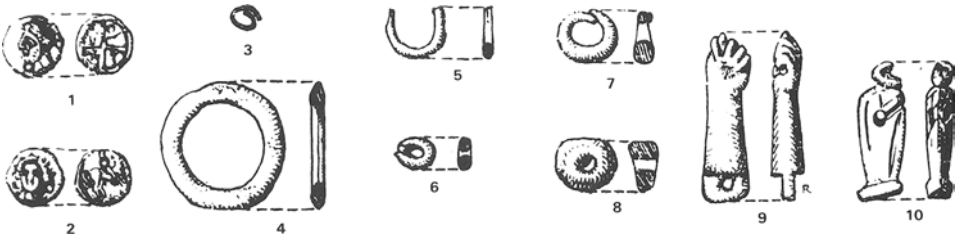
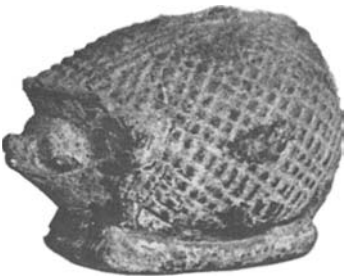


PLATE XLIV



07.23(a)

07.23(b)

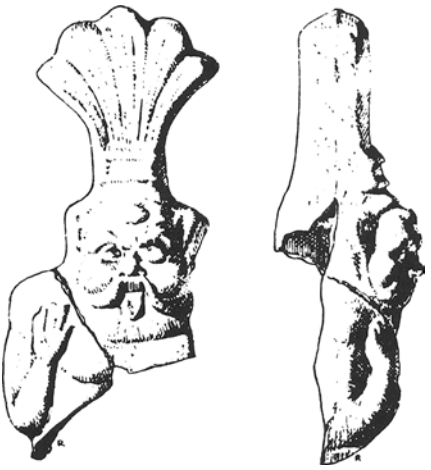
07.24

07.25

07.26

07.27

07.28

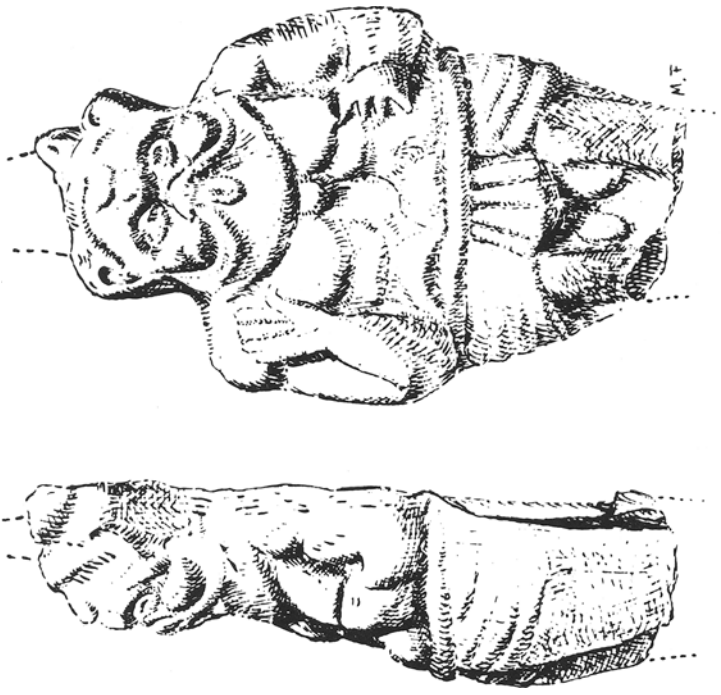


08.01

08.01

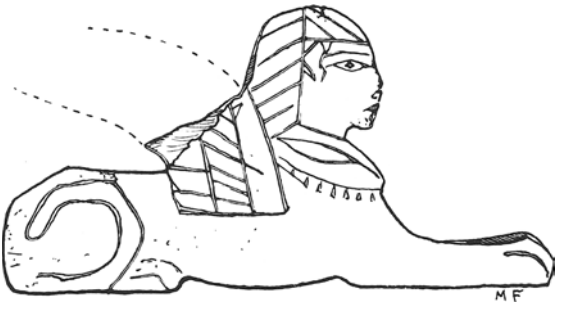
## Plate XLVI

08.02



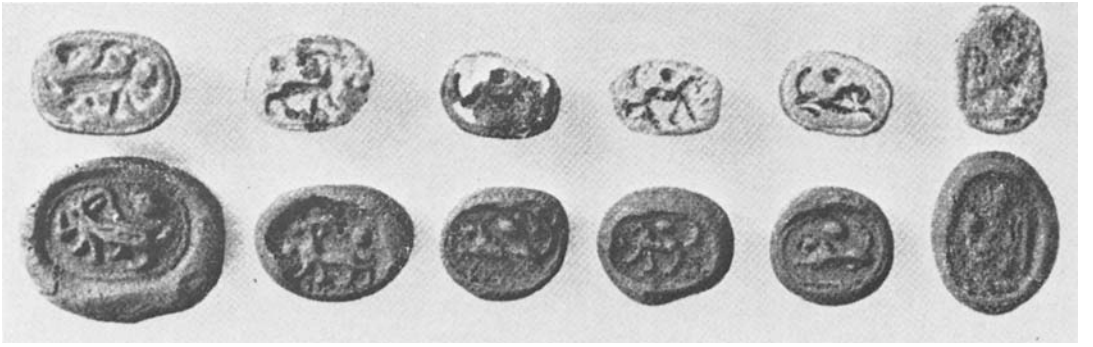
08.02

08.03




08.03

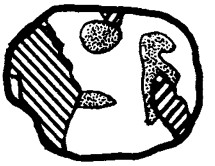
PLATE XLVIII



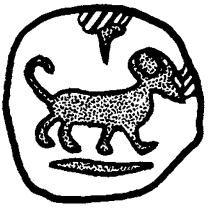
09.01

09.05

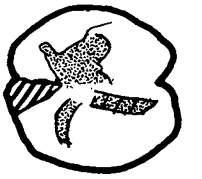
09.02



09.07



09.10



09.13

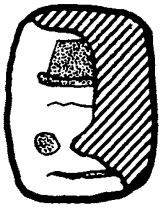
09.03

09.08

09.11

09.14

09.04

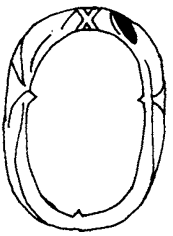


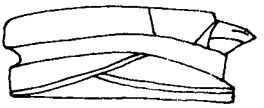
09.09

09.12

09.15

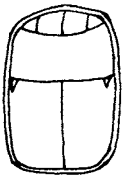
PLATE L



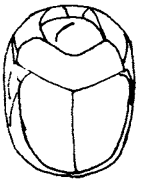


10.01

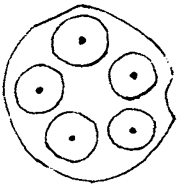
10.02



10.03

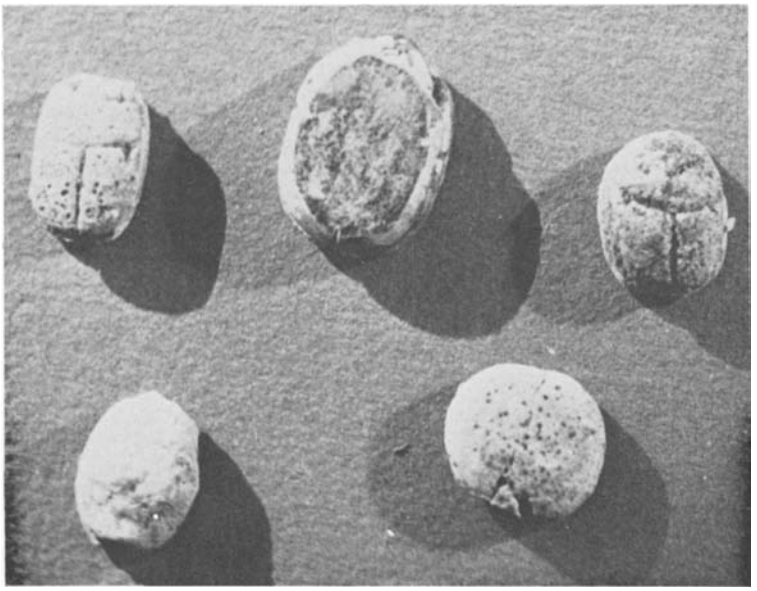


10.04



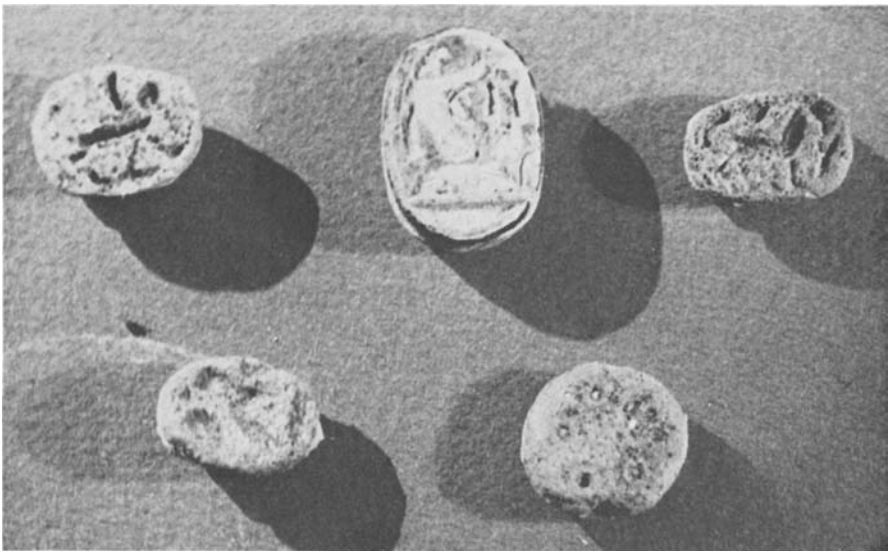
10.05

10.04 10.01 10.03



10.02 10.05

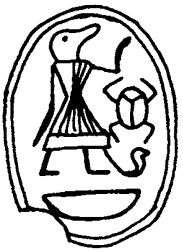
10.01



0.04 10.03

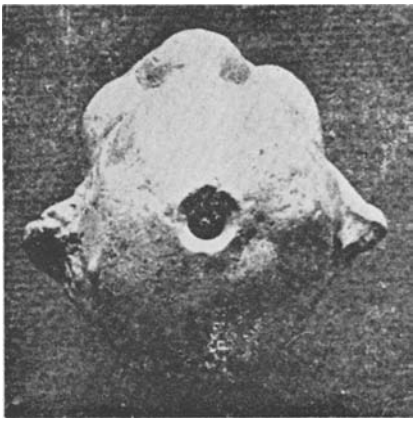
10.02 10.05

PLATE LII

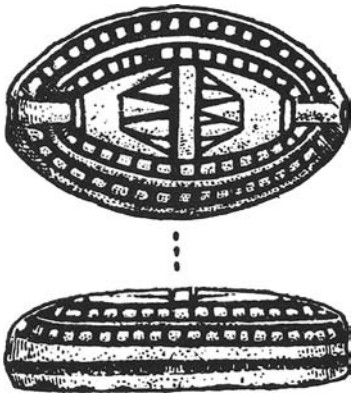


10.51

11.01

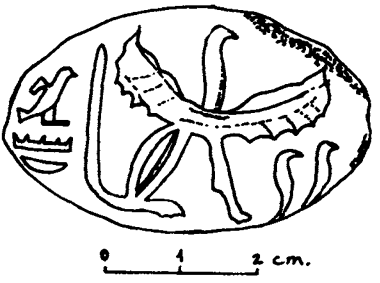


11.01



12.01

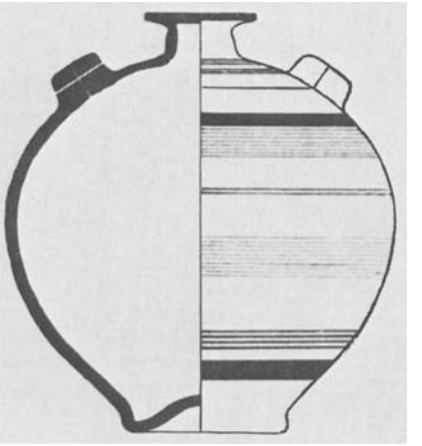
12.01

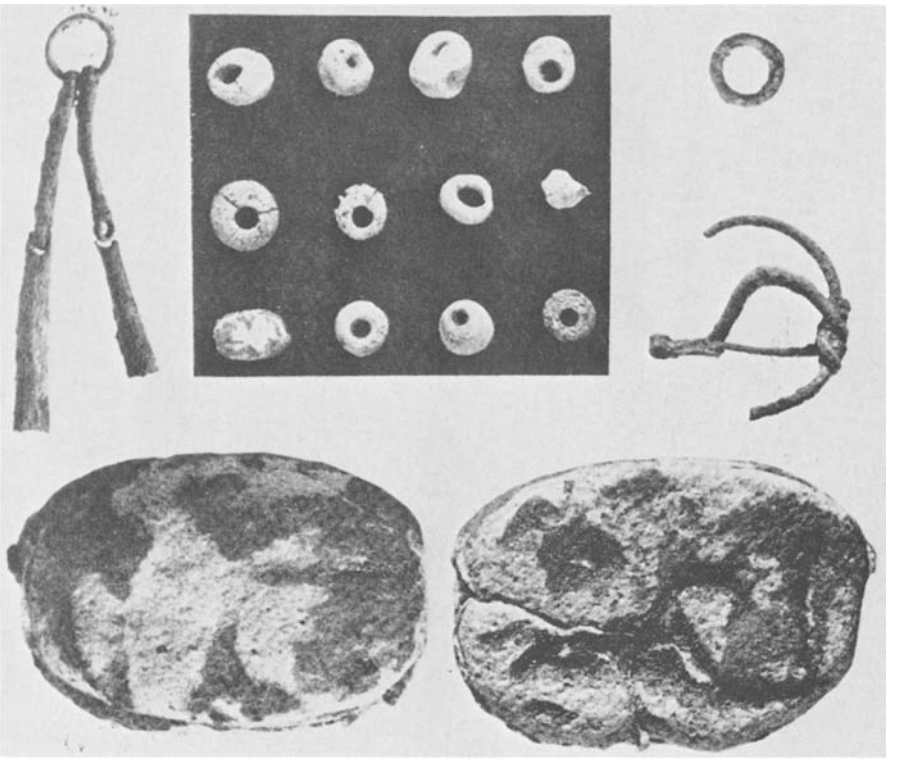


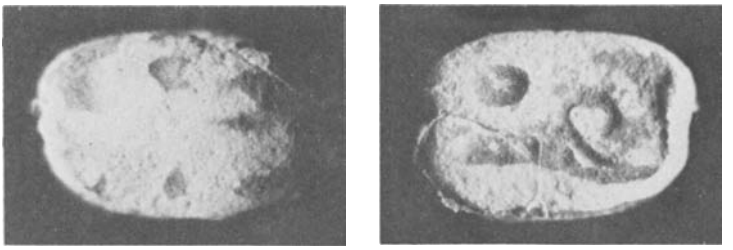

12.01

12.01

PLATE LIV







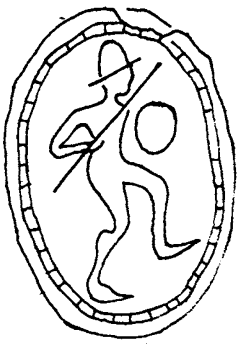
13.01

13.01

15.01

15.01

PLATE LVI



16.01

16.02

16.02

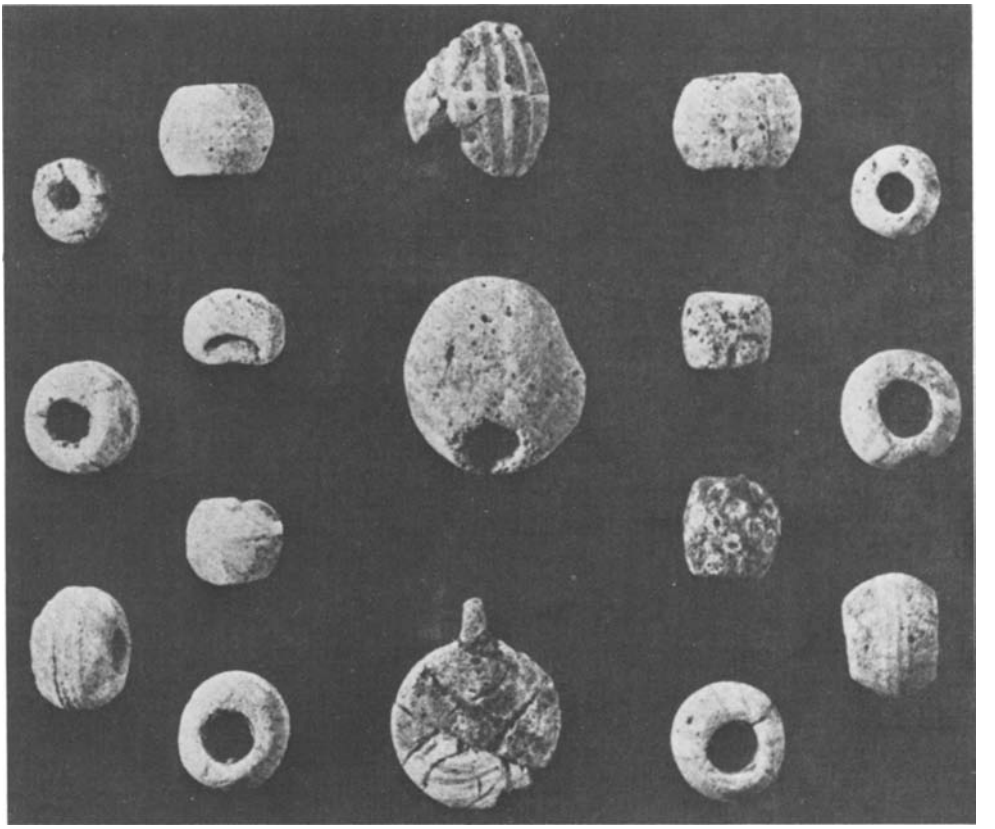
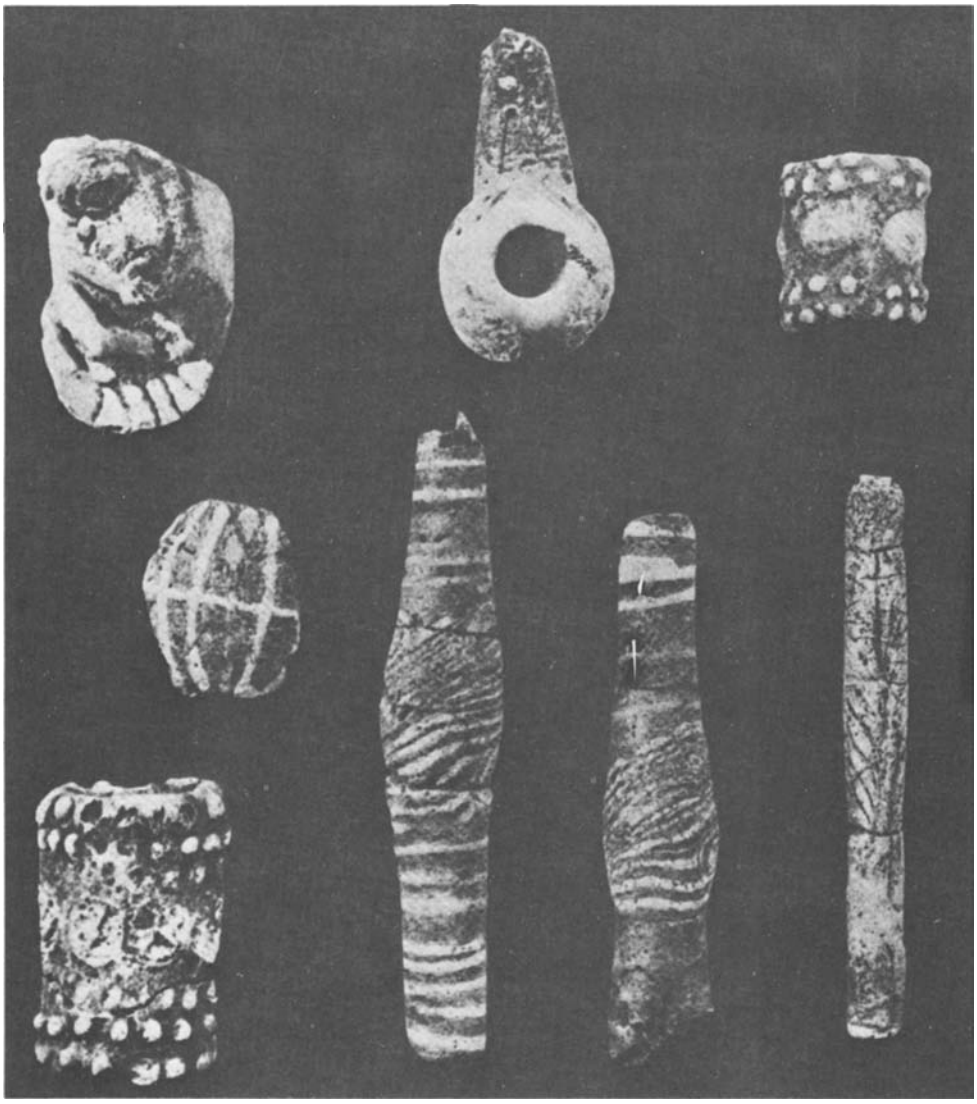


PLATE LVIII



17.01

17.01

17.01

19.02

19.02

19.03

19.03

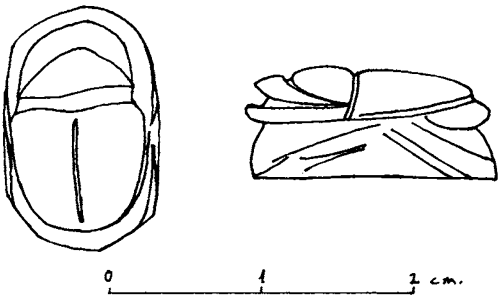
19.01

19.01

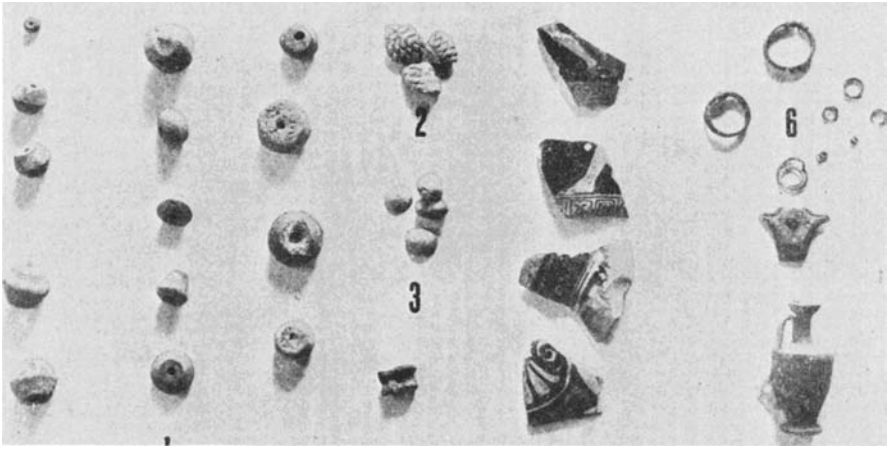
19.01

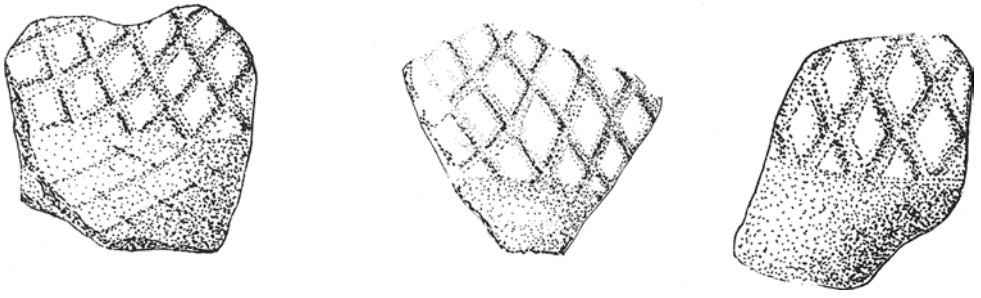
19.03

PLATE LX



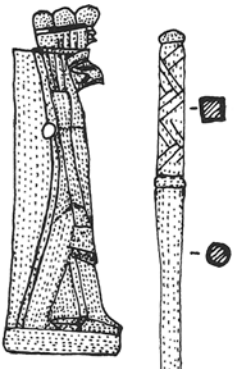

18.01



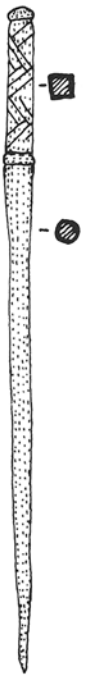



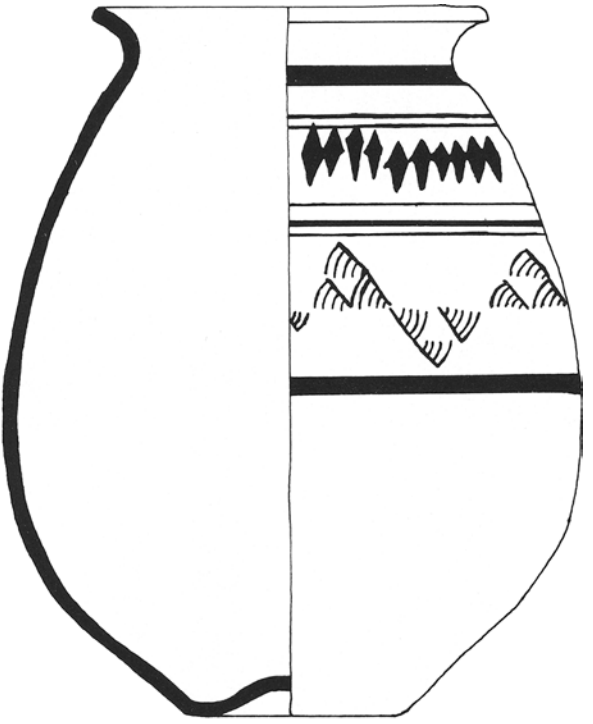
19.04

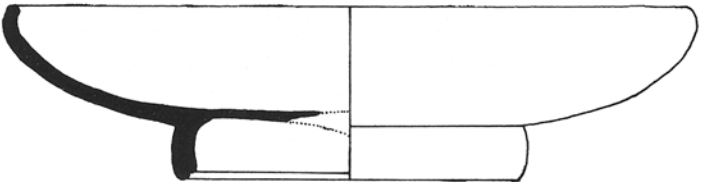
20.01

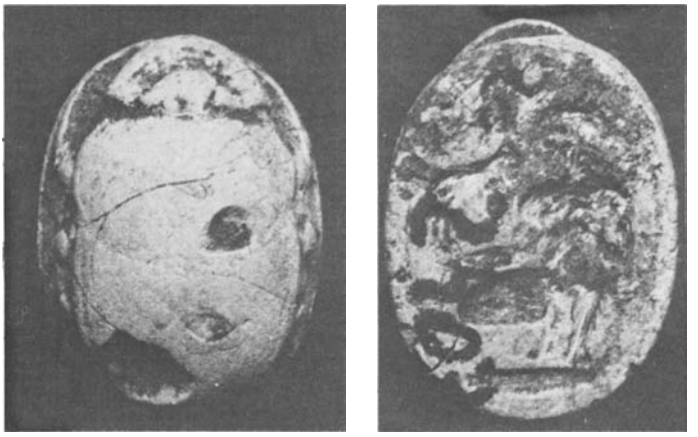


21.01

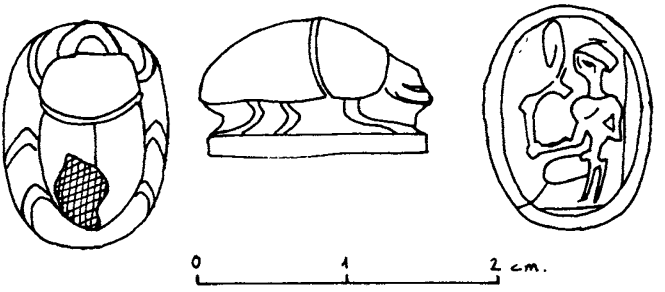




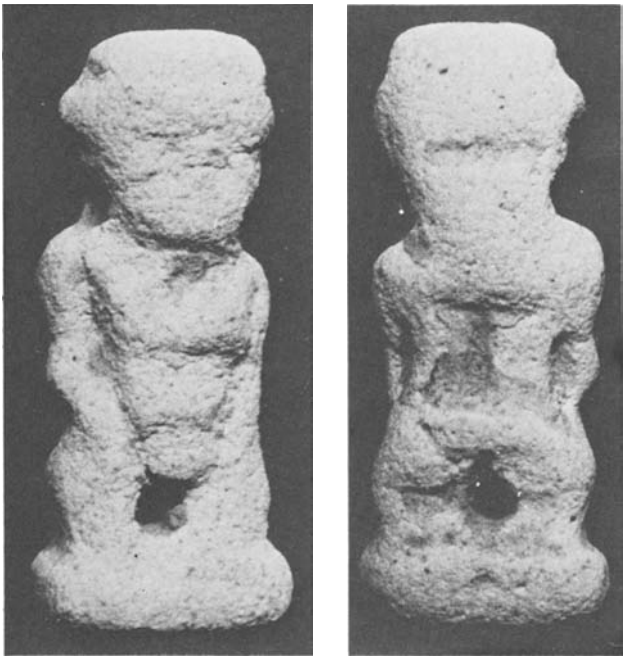




22.01



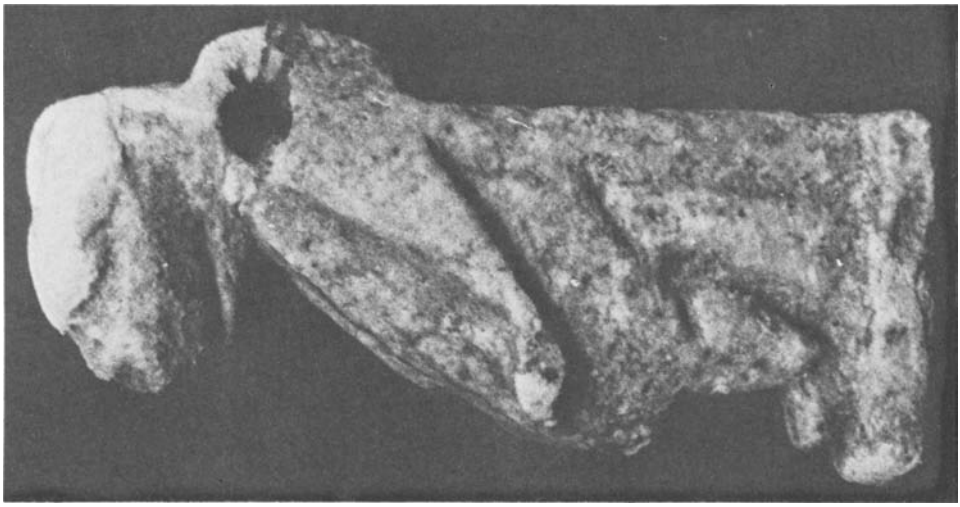

22.01



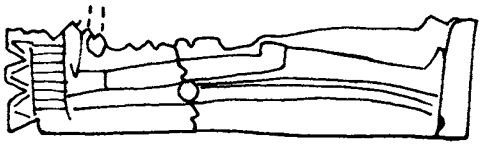
22.02

22.02

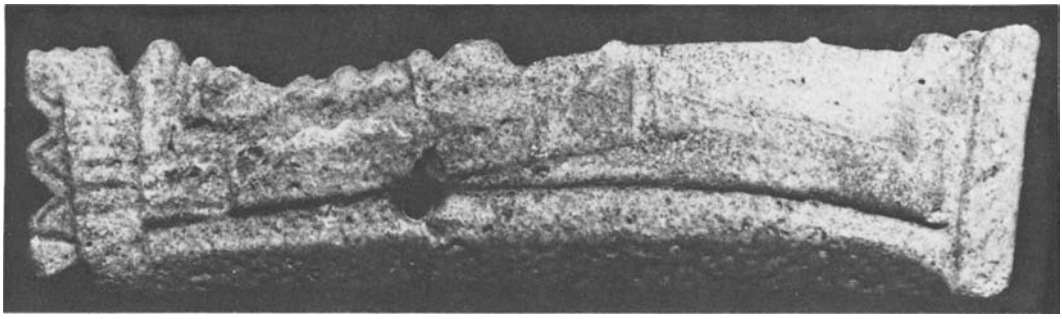
22.04



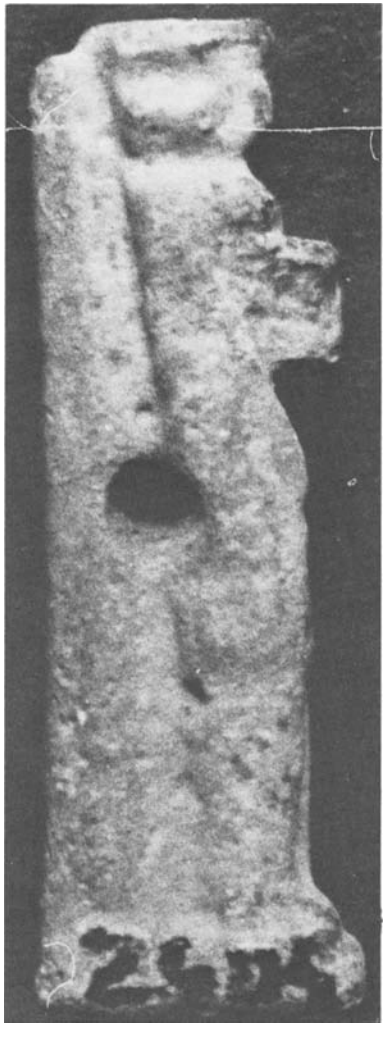
22.04



22.03

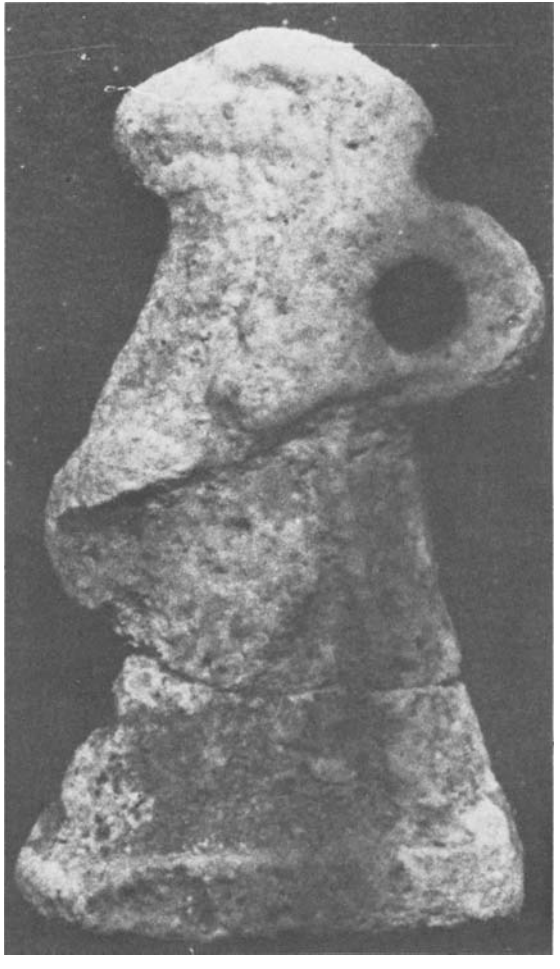


22.03



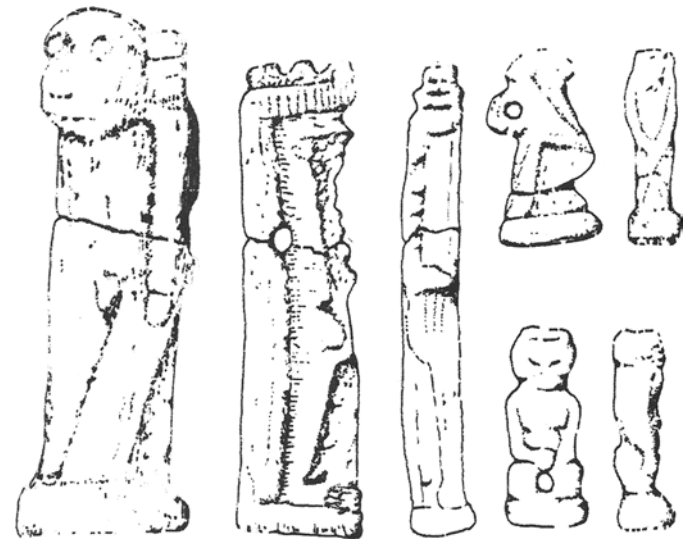
22.05

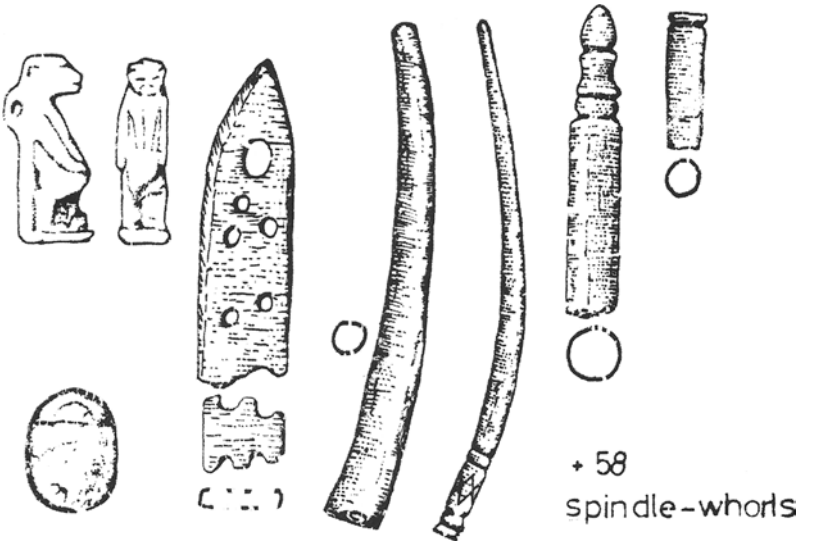
22.05



22.06

22.06





+ 58
spindle-whorls